DECLARATION BY AUTHOR OF THE DISSERTATION

*Name of author in full* (block letters) CLAIRE LOUISE HARRISON WARWICK

*Title of dissertation as approved by the Board of Graduate Studies* "LOVE IS ELOQUENCE": Richard Crashaw and the Development of a Discourse of Divine Love

1 I understand that I am the owner of the copyright of this dissertation and of the summary of the dissertation and that the copyright rests with me unless I specifically transfer it to another person.

2 I understand that the University requires that I shall deposit one copy of my dissertation and one copy of the summary in the University Library where they shall be available for consultation, and that photocopies of them shall be made available by the University Library to those who wish to consult them elsewhere. I understand that the Library, before allowing the dissertation or the summary to be consulted either in the original or in a photocopy, shall require each person wishing to consult them to sign a declaration that he or she recognises that the copyright of the dissertation and of the summary belongs to me. In accordance with the Law of Copyright no information derived from the dissertation or quotation from it may be published without full acknowledgement of the source being made nor any substantial extract from the dissertation published without my written consent.

3 I agree that, subject to any conditions decided upon by the Board of Graduate Studies under Regulation 16 of the Regulations for the Ph.D., M.Sc., and M.Litt. Degrees, my dissertation and summary shall be available for consultation in accordance with paragraph 2 above.

4 I agree that, subject to any conditions decided upon by the Board of Graduate Studies under Regulation 16 of the Regulations for the Ph.D., M.Sc., and M.Litt. Degrees, the summary of my dissertation shall be available for copying and publication at the discretion of the Board of Graduate Studi

BOARD OF GRADUATE STUDIES
4 MILL LANE
CAMBRIDGE
CB2 1RZ

*Signed* [redacted]

*Date* 3.8.94

G50.2000.8.93

THE BOARD OF GRADUATE STUDIES
APPROVED THIS DISSERTATION
FOR THE Ph.D. DEGREE ON
6 DEC 1994

University of Cambridge

Faculty of English

# "LOVE IS ELOQUENCE": RICHARD CRASHAW AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DISCOURSE OF DIVINE LOVE

Claire Louise Harrison Warwick

Selwyn College



A Dissertation
submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
1994

C.L.H. Warwick

## SUMMARY

My thesis takes as its subject the poetry of Richard Crashaw. Crashaw aims to represent a mutual relationship of love between God and humanity, which is modelled on the discourses of earthly, erotic love. However, such a relationship, and its expression is highly problematic. Love, and this kind of mutuality are best expressed through suffering. This paradox is central to my thesis. The dissertation falls into three parts which discuss the early, middle and late periods of his life and writing.

Section One: Epigrammata Sacra. In these epigrams, Crashaw attempted to forge a language in which to express his love of God. He adapted the conventions of Latin erotic poetry to represent sacred love. The first two chapters discuss Ovid and Prudentius who were important influences on Crashaw since they both adapted the language of Classical Latin poetry for their own purposes. Ovid used the language of Augustan public rituals to write erotic poetry. Prudentius also strove to adapt the language of Roman poetry to the Christian purpose of celebrating the sufferings of the martyrs. Since Crashaw also explores the way in which wounding can aid communication between humanity and God, Prudentius was also an important model for this aspect of his poetry.

Section Two: Steps to the Temple (1646). The first chapter concerns Counter Reformation meditational writers. Louis Martz contends that such writers were highly influential on English Renaissance poetry. This chapter investigates their views of divine love and how humanity may achieve it. In Steps to the Temple, Crashaw celebrates those who, like St. Teresa, have achieved communion with God, but seems himself to require an intermediate agency through which to communicate his love for the divine. The poems discussed in this section were probably written in the 1630s and 1640s, while Crashaw was resident in Cambridge. The final chapter discusses the political and religious debates of the 1640s and argues that what some critics perceive as Crashaw's 'foreign' sensibility may be a reflection of the views of the 'Beauty of Holiness' movement.

Section Three: Steps to the Temple (1648) and Carmen Deo Nostro. Crashaw fled to Europe in 1643 and converted to Catholicism. The two later editions of his poetry, published after his exile from England, contain several new poems and revisions of earlier ones. Poems in hymn form, appear for the first time in the 1648 edition of Steps to the Temple. These are full of images of pain and wounding. The opening chapter compares Crashaw's discussions of religious suffering with those of

contemporary poets. The work of his close friend and colleague at Peterhouse, Joseph Beaumont, is particularly valuable, since his language and style are very similar to Crashaw's. Beaumont's poetry also offers an insight into the life of Laudians who remained in England during the Interregnum. Hymns of the Church were associated with Catholic ritual. The second chapter considers whether there is any evidence that these poems were written after Crashaw's conversion, and whether they exhibit any change of sensibility as a result. An account of Crashaw's years of exile contends that he may have encountered Catholic thought while still in England. Critics have assumed that once he converted, and particularly once he arrived in Rome, he was finally content and at peace with God. I argue, however, there is no evidence for this view, and that Crashaw remained an excluded exile whose sense of isolation found expression in his poetry.

For Mike

## Preface

It is difficult to know how to begin to thank all the people who have helped make this thesis possible. But without the help of the staff of the Cambridge University Library, and particularly those in the Rare Books room, my task would have been almost impossible. The librarians of Peterhouse and Pembroke have also been most helpful to me.

I owe a debt of gratitude to the many academics who have helped me in the research for, and preparation of the dissertation. My thanks go especially to Dr. John Morrill, Dr. David Smith, and Dr. John Twigg for their advice on Early-Modern history. Dr. April McMahon has advised me on Linguistic theory, and provided a great deal of encouragement as well. Dr. Wil Sanders has been unfailingly supportive, without his confidence in me I would probably never have embarked on graduate work. Dr. Jean Chothia has been an ideal mentor over the last four years and has always been generous with her time and advice. I would also like to thank Dr Richard Luckett for being my supervisor for one term, and Mr. John Kerrigan and Professor Anne Barton for giving me the opportunity to give a paper at the Renaissance Graduate Seminar. Most of all, however, I must thank my supervisor, Dr. Colin Burrow, who has provided an exemplary mixture of erudition, motivation and helpful advice.

On a personal level, I would like to thank all the members of SCWAFC, whose confidence in me, albeit in another field, has contributed more to my work than they will ever realise. Equally, it is impossible adequately to describe all the help and support my mother has provided, or to thank her for all she has done. Finally, it is certain that without Mike I would never have reached this stage. He has been an inspiration, and a constant source of strength and inspiration, as well as historical nous, without him this work would never have been completed. It is with love and profound gratitude that I dedicate my thesis to him.

Finally I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and has not been produced in collaboration with anyone else. I have used the MLA style sheet in its preparation. This dissertation does not exceed the regulation length, including footnotes, references and appendices but excluding the bibliography.

CONTENTS

## Abbreviations

The following is a list of abbreviations for journals and reference works used in the thesis and its bibliography.

| | |
|---|---|
| CQ | Classical Quarterly |
| CSPD | Calendar of State Papers Domestic |
| DNB | Dictionary of National Biography |
| ELH | English Literary History |
| ELR | English Literary Renaissance |
| HSCP | Harvard Studies in Classical Philology |
| JRS | Journal of Roman Studies |
| OED | Oxford English Dictionary |
| OLD | Oxford Latin Dictionary |
| PMLA | Proceedings of the Modern Language Association |
| RES | Review of English Studies |
| SEL | Studies in English Literature 1500-1900 |
| TAPhA | Transactions of the American Philological Society |
| TLS | Times Literary Supplement |

## Introduction

The bright enamoured youth above
I asked, "what kind of thing is love?"
I asked the Saints, they could not tell,
Though in their bosoms it doth dwell.
I asked the lower angels; they
Lived in its flames, but could not say.
I asked the seraphs: these at last confessed
"We cannot tell how God should be expressed"
(ll 1-8)[1]

This stanza neatly encapsulates some of the problems which this thesis will be investigating. Its author, Joseph Beaumont was a close friend of Crashaw's, and it is apparent here that he shared Crashaw's desire to investigate religious love, and to express it in his poetry. The question of how to define love, and the problem of "how God", and his love, "should be expressed" is vital in Crashaw's poetry. I shall be discussing how Crashaw handles such problems, and will suggest that the definition and indefinition of religious love is central to his work.

The problem of "what kind of thing is love?" is here posed in a specifically religious, rather than erotic context. But I shall argue that there is an important connection between human, erotic love, and religious love between humanity and God. Religious and secular love are often discussed by critics in separate articles or books. The reason for such a separation seems to be that love in sacred poetry, and sexual love in erotic poetry are not considered to be equivalent.[2] Perhaps this is

---

[1] Joseph Beaumont, "Love's Mystery", Stanza 1.

[2] See, for example, Michael Schoenfeldt's excellent discussion of this tendency in criticism of George Herbert in "'That Ancient Heat': Sexuality and Spirituality in *The Temple,*" in Soliciting Interpretation, eds. Elizabeth D. Harvey and Katharine Eisamann Maus (Chicago and London, 1990), pp. 273-306, (pp. 273-4)

because it is thought that the sacred quality of religious verse might somehow be debased if love for God were to be compared with human sexuality.[3] Certainly, many critics of Crashaw have found his overtly sensual language to be in poor taste.[4] At the same time he has been seen as in some way alien in sensibility, as "foreign" and exotic.[5] Following T.S. Eliot, many critics have sought to locate this exoticism as part of the European Baroque movement.[6] Yet their sense that Crashaw breaks with accepted decorum may stem from his explicit elision of the boundaries between these two types of love. This thesis is not an attempt to make excuses for Crashaw nor to condemn him for indecorousness, but to consider how he strove to understand the relationship between human and divine, and to create a discourse of religious love to express it.

This approach is, broadly, in the same spirit as the most recent criticism of Crashaw. Earlier critics berate Crashaw for his overly "Feminine" sensibility, and

---

[3] Yvor Winters makes this criticism explicit in Forms of Discovery (Chicago, 1967), p. 92.

[4] Robert M. Adams, "Taste and bad-taste in Metaphysical poetry: Richard Crashaw and Dylan Thomas," Hudson Review, 8 (1955), 61-77, and William Empson, Seven Types of Ambiguity (London, 1930), p. 280.

[5] For the original statement of this idea, see A. Clutton-Brock, "The Fantastic school of English Poetry," in The Cambridge Modern History, ed. A.W. Ward, G.W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes, 4, The Thirty Years' War (Cambridge, 1906), pp. 760-775, (p. 772).

[6] T.S. Eliot, "The Metaphysical Poets," TLS, (October 20th, 1921), pp. 669-70, T.S. Eliot, review of The Poems, English, Latin, and Greek, of Richard Crashaw, The Dial, 84 (1928), 246-50. See also Mario Praz, The Flaming Heart (New York, 1958), Robert T. Petersson, The Art of Ecstasy (New York, 1974), and Marc F. Bertonasco, Crashaw and the Baroque (Alabama, 1971).

perceive this to be detrimental to his writing.[7] However, several writers in the most recent collection of articles on Crashaw have seen this as a positive feature, as has Maureen Sabine who has produced the most recent book length study.[8] Those writers who are influenced by feminist methodology do not find fault with Crashaw's sensibility, rather they consider how this enriches his writing. Thus feminist criticism has, to some extent, rescued Crashaw from some of the critical opprobrium he had suffered.[9]

Although important books on Crashaw's poetry have been written by Thomas Healy and Maureen Sabine,[10] in recent years, however, interest in religious poetry seems to have declined. Fewer critics have worked on religious poetry,[11] and since the publication of King's English Reformation Literature, little has been produced in the last decade to rival the earlier work of Lily Campbell, Louis Martz,

---

[7] Originally stated in Edward Thomas, "The Tenth Muse," in Feminine Influence on the Poets (London and New York, 1910), pp. 62-4.

[8] See the following articles in John R. Roberts, New Perspectives on the Life and Art of Richard Crashaw, (Columbia, 1990): Stella P. Revard, "Crashaw and the Diva: The Tradition of the Neo-Latin Hymn to the Goddess," pp. 80-98, Eugene R. Cunnar, "Crashaw's 'Sancta Maria Dolorum': Contoversy and Coherence," pp. 99-126, Paul Parrish, "O Sweet Contest": Gender and Value in the Weeper," pp. 127-139, and Maureen Sabine, Feminine Engendered Faith (London, 1992).

[9] For other feminist writing on Crashaw, see Maureen Sabine, "Crashaw and the Feminine Animus: Patterns of Self Sacrifice in two of his Devotional Poems," John Donne Journal, 4 (1985), 69-94, and Paul Parrish, "The Feminizing of Power: Crashaw's Life and Art," in The Muses Commonweale, eds. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia, 1988), pp. 148-162.

[10] Thomas F. Healy, Richard Crashaw, (Leyden, 1986), and Sabine, Feminine Engendered Faith.

[11] The only exceptions of book length are Deborah Kuller Shuger, Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance. (Berkeley, California, 1990), and Anthony Low, The Reinvention of Love. (Cambridge, 1993).

or the influential Barbara Lewalski.[12] This is largely due to the recent emphasis placed on politics and power structures in literature, especially drama of the period, by the New Historicists. Sabine notes that recent critics have perceived in Crashaw a "poetic failure to engage in the great public struggles of his age".[13] Other religious poets have also suffered neglect as a result of this bias in the academy. A fascinating article by Gottlieb demonstrates that George Herbert was more concerned with public events than is at first apparent, but it also implies that he ought to have been more politically aware. The implication is that because he was present at the unruly parliament of 1624, and lived in "extremely troubled times," he ought have written about them, and would certainly have been more interesting to the New Historicists if he had done.[14] Parry also dismisses Henry Vaughan's first volume of poetry as "effete", "fragile and thin". He compares the lyrics unfavourably with Vaughan's translation of Juvenal's Satire X, which he is able to interpret as a comment on the politics of the 1640's in which Sejanus represents the murdered Strafford.[15] Helen Wilcox is one of the few critics who writes about devotional poets despite their retreat from the politics of the Civil War and interregnum.[16]

---

[12] John N. King, English Reformation Literature (Princeton, 1982), Lily B. Campbell, Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth Century England (Cambridge, 1959), Louis Martz, The Poetry of Meditation 2nd edn., (New Haven and London, 1962), Barbara K. Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth Century Religious Lyric (Princeton, 1979).

[13] Sabine, Feminine Engendered Faith, p. 112.

[14] Sidney Gottlieb, "The Social and Political Backgrounds of George Herbert's Poetry," in Summers and Pebworth, Muses Commonweale, pp. 107-118.

[15] Graham Parry, "A Troubled Arcadia," in Literature and the English Civil War, eds. Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 39-55, (pp. 50-51).

[16] Helen Wilcox, "Exploring the Language of Devotion in the English

Deborah Shuger has argued persuasively against this overwhelming bias towards the consideration of political power structures, contending that this produces a distorted picture of the Renaissance period. She is not opposed to the interrelation of history and textuality,[17] but argues that religion must form part of this discussion.

> Religion is, first of all, not *simply* politics in disguise, a set of beliefs that represent and legitimate the social order by grounding it in the Absolute. ... Religion during the period supplies the primary language for analysis. It is the cultural matrix for exploration of virtually every topic: kingship, selfhood, rationality, language, marriage, ethics, and so forth. Such subjects are, again, not masked by religious discourse, but articulated by it; they are considered *in relation* to God and the human soul. That is what it means to say that the English Renaissance was a religious culture, not simply a culture whose members were generally religious.[18]

I have quoted at such length because her argument provides an excellent exposition of the importance of religious poetry in this period. If religion was a vital part of life in Renaissance England, then writers of purely religious poetry are not part of an effete fringe who can safely be ignored, but at the centre of one of the most profound questions of the seventeenth century. Only one of Crashaw's poems, "On a Treatise of Charity", can be identified as taking part in the doctrinal disputes of the time. Yet this does not mean he was detached from the significant issues of the seventeenth century. In chapter four I discuss the sectarian and political debates which raged in Crashaw's Cambridge, and show how involved he was in these. Purely by writing sacred poetry he made himself part of one of the most important

---

Revolution," in Healy and Sawday, pp. 75-90.

[17] see Louis Adrian Montrose's discussion of the New Historicist enterprise in "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture," in The New Historicism, ed. H. Aram Veeser (London, 1989), pp. 15-36.

[18] Shuger, p. 6.

issues in 1640s Cambridge.

If, as Jameson suggests, religion is the way in which a pre-capitalist society interprets and comprehends its culture and existence,[19] then the understanding of the relationship between human and divine must be vital in such a society. It is this relationship that Crashaw explores. He tries to determine whether it is possible for there to be a relationship of love between human and divine. In order to try and achieve this longed-for communication he must attempt to construct a discourse to express this love. It is this process which is the overall theme of the following chapters.

This thesis also differs from New Historicism in its methodology, primarily because I have consistently privileged text over context. I shall argue that Crashaw can best be understood in terms of his historical circumstances, and thus history becomes more than merely another text to be interpreted.[20] However, the following thesis does agree with New Historicist methodology in its determinedly comparative approach. Stephen Greenblatt explained that his critical methodology would be based on comparison of literary texts with other elements of the culture in which they exist.[21] Other new Historicists, like Louis Montrose, have adopted this

---

[19] Frederic Jameson, "Religion and Ideology: A Political Reading of *Paradise Lost*," in Literature, Politics and Theory, eds. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iverson and Diana Loxley (London, 1986), pp. 35-56, (p. 39).

[20] For discussion of text/context hierarchy in new Historicist criticism, see Edward Pechter, "The New Historicism and its Discontents: Politicizing Renaissance Drama," PMLA, 102 (1987), 292-303, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Literary Criticism and the Politics of the New Historicism," in Veeser, pp. 213-224, and Hayden White, "New Historicism: A Comment," in Veeser, pp. 293-302.

[21] Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning (Chicago, 1980), pp. 5-6.

approach, and used seemingly unrelated "cultural texts" to illuminate canonical works such as Shakespeare's plays.[22] Following the ideas of Clifford Geertz[23] that only by the comparison of many different aspects of a culture can it be understood, they have applied this procedure to literary studies. I have also used other texts to illuminate the study of Crashaw's poetry. Some may have been directly influential on his writing, but the process of comparison also illuminates the ways in which other writers tackled the same problems of defining religious love, and of forging a language in which to express it. Thus I have borrowed New Historicist methodology to the extent that the process of comparison is used to illuminate the text under investigation.

The following thesis is divided into three parts, which, broadly, represent the three stages -early, middle and late- of Crashaw's life and career as a writer. The first part is based on a discussion of Crashaw's earliest published work, the Epigrammata Sacra. In these Latin poems, Crashaw strove to forge a discourse of love for God by using the resource of a previous discourse of human love. As model for this erotic discourse, he drew upon the work of the most famous Latin erotic poet, Ovid. Ovid wrote salacious love poetry, and as such, may seem a strange model for a religious poet. However, in chapter one, I shall argue that his ability to manipulate the language of Augustan public rituals to his own purposes was a valuable model for Crashaw. In his discussion of Catullus, Lyne explains the predicament of a writer who found he had no language in which to express

---

[22] Louis Adrian Montrose, "'Eliza, Queene of Shepheardes' and the Pastoral of Power," ELR, 10 (1980), 153-82, and "'Shaping Fantasies': Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture," Representations, 2 (1983), 61-94.

[23] Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (London, 1975).

romantic, as opposed to purely sexual love, and his subsequent creation of a discourse of love and loyalty based on Roman values of family loyalty.[24] Ovid proved a valuable model for Crashaw since he also showed that by adapting the language of Augustan Rome, which was apparently inimical to his erotic values, it was possible to develop a discourse for his poetry of love.

The second chapter discusses the poetry of Prudentius, and its influence on Crashaw. In the fourth century A.D. Prudentius adapted the conventions of classical Latin poetry to create a language for Christian worship and love. By changing the signification of language he attempted to model new Christian conventions by reference to previous Roman ones. Since he celebrates the sufferings of the Martyrs in the Peristephanon, he is also an important model for Crashaw, who was to investigate the way in which wounding could become a language to express his love for God. The third chapter will discuss Crashaw's own Latin poetry, the Epigrammata Sacra. I shall argue that he is a worthy sucessor to the attempts of Prudentius to develop a language of Love for a Christian God. His Latin epigrams have been largely ignored by critics. They are not only accomplished works in themselves, but because of the references Crashaw makes to the tropes of Latin erotic poetry, they can provide valuable information about the way he was to construct a discourse of religious love in both his Latin, and later English, poetry.

The second part of the thesis discusses the poetry which first appeared in the 1646 edition of Steps to the Temple. This was probably written during the time

---

[24] R.O.A.M. Lyne, The Latin Love Poets from Catullus to Ovid (Oxford, 1980), Chapter 2.

when Crashaw lived in Cambridge, as a fellow of Peterhouse, from 1634-43.[25] It is in these English poems that he continues his attempts to create a loving relationship between himself and God. To gauge how typical Crashaw's views on love were, chapter four discusses the concepts of love expressed by other devotional writers of his time, and slightly earlier. These include both the group of Protestant theologians, who have become known as the Cambridge Platonists, and Catholic counter-reformation writers of meditational devotion.

Chapter six discusses Crashaw's own poems, and is a consideration of how Crashaw attempts to adapt the language used to a human beloved to the expression of love for God. In the Latin epigrams he had expressed a fear of addressing God directly, and this chapter also explores the way in which he can use the experience of others, particularly women, as a way of expressing his own love for God. He uses saintly mediators like St. Teresa and the Blessed Virgin, and, through writing about their encounters with heavenly love, he prays that they may intercede on his behalf. By venerating saints, however, he associated himself with what were perceived to be the popish practices of the Laudian faction in Cambridge. The first chapter of this section, discusses Crashaw's affinities with the Laudian movement, and the political and sectarian disputes which raged in Cambrige until its capture by Parliamentary forces in 1643.

For reasons which still remain unknown, Crashaw had left Cambridge and gone into exile in Leyden shortly before the Parliament captured the town, but their

---

[25] For an excellent discussion of this period of his life, see Healy, Richard Crashaw, chapter 3.

insistence that all academics should accept the Covenant made it impossible for him to return. He spent the last six years of his life in Europe, first in Paris, then in Rome, and it is these last years upon which the final three chapters concentrate.

The final part of the thesis discusses poems written in hymn form, most of which appear for the first time in the 1648 edition of Steps to the Temple. This was published after Crashaw had fled to Europe, and it has long been supposed that these poems were written after his conversion to Catholicism. Critics have assumed that once he converted, and particularly once he arrived in Rome, he was finally content and at peace with God.[26] In chapter eight, I argue that there is no evidence for this view, and that Crashaw remained an excluded exile whose sense of isolation found expression in his poetry. I also consider whether there is any evidence to suggest that the new poems were written after his conversion, and whether they show any influence of a new Catholic sensibility. My reading of Crashaw's hymns aims to provide a new analysis of these neglected poems. I contend that there is little evidence in them of a contented man at one with the new church. Rather they reflect the longing for the primitive in worship, and the sense of exclusion from God felt throughout his work.

On reading Hymns like "Hymn to the Name", and "Sancta Maria Dolorum", it becomes apparent that one of the few ways in which Crashaw is able to approach Christ, or express his love, is through the desire for, and contemplation of wounding. As a preliminary to my reading of Crashaw's own poems, therefore, in chapter seven, I consider whether there is anything in the literature of the

---

[26] Austin Warren, Richard Crashaw (Baton Rouge, 1939), p. 51.

seventeenth century which is comparable to Crashaw's fascination with the eloquence of pain. I discuss the work of Joseph Beaumont, especially his Psyche, and his portrayal of the desire for spiritual martyrdom, and the ecstasy of suffering.

The final chapter considers the poet's attempts to communicate with God in his own right. Finally he abandons words for wounds as the most effective language through which he may communicate his love. I argue that the ideas which the hymns express about pain and wounding are a development from those which can be found from the epigrams onwards. These hymns do not represent a radical departure from past writing, or change to a new, and defiantly Catholic, sensibility. They represent the work of an essentially backward-looking poet who is keen to associate himself with ancient traditions in both the rituals and the poetry of religious love.

My reading of Crashaw's poetry will argue that he is an essentially backward looking poet, who appeals consistently to ancient ideas and texts for inspiration. David Quint argues that during the Renaissance writers became part of an intellectual debate about the value of individual innovation as opposed to the authority of tradition.[27] Crashaw was, it seems, on the side of tradition, since he seeks to use the literary and devotional resources of the past from which to develop his own poetry. Many of his best English poems are based on translations of previous works, like the ancient Catholic Hymns of the Church. His Latin poetry also borrows the classical epigramatic form, and he adapts the tropes of Latin erotic poetry from which to create a discourse of religious love. Quint shows that by the Romantic period, the value of poetic originality had triumphed over such

---

[27] David Quint, Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature (New Haven and London, 1983), pp. 218-9.

traditionalism.[28] It may be that, influenced by such a view of the primacy of invention, modern readers tend not to value translation and adaptation of a previous source as highly as original composition. It is perhaps as a result of this devaluation that Crashaw's Latin poetry and his translations have been relatively neglected. I shall, however, be concentrating on such poems, and on the retrospective nature of Crashaw's poetic sensibilility. As a result the emphasis of the thesis has fallen on the early and late poetry, somewhat to the exclusion of the more well known poetry of the middle period of his life. The word limit precludes a thorough discussion of all his poems, and thus I have chosen to concentrate on those which, whether original or based on a source, show the poet's affinity with the primitive in worship, and with traditional authority.

The choice of which text of the English poems to use is problematic, for reasons which I shall discuss fully in chapter eight. The Epigrammata Sacra is the only one of Crashaw's books printed while he was living in England. Even the earliest edition of Steps to the Temple was produced in 1646, three years after his ejection from Peterhouse. Both Healy and Larsen favour the 1648 edition, because it is more complete than the earlier version.[29] In the following thesis, rather than using one of the original editions, I have used the earlier version of each poem wherever it may occur. This is because many poems first printed in the 1646 edition have been revised extensively in 1648. Although such revisions have been presumed to be authorial there are reasons to doubt whether this is so. Thus, I have used the

---

[28] Quint, pp. 217-18.

[29] Healy, Richard Crashaw, pp. 5-9, and Kenneth Larsen, The Religious Sources of Richard Crashaw's Sacred Poetry (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Cambridge, 1969), pp. 127-154.

presumed to be authorial there are reasons to doubt whether this is so. Thus, I have used the 1648 version of the poems which first appear in this edition, and the 1646 version of the poems which are subsequently revised.

The aim of this thesis is, then, to attempt to explicate the way in which Crashaw created and used a discourse of religious love in his poetry. Despite its comparative methodology, it is not an attempt to explain away Crashaw's unusual sensibility, or to make his poetry fit uncomfortably into an existing pattern of thought. John Roberts warns of the danger of trying to "label" Crashaw with terms which are not applicable.[31] Although I argue that Crashaw seems much less exotic and foreign in sensibility when his work is seen in the context of the Laudian atmosphere at Peterhouse, this is in no sense an attempt to deny his individuality as a writer. The danger in previous criticism has been that Crashaw has been so labelled and hedged about with suggested influences that his own thought has been forgotten. The relation of his work to the baroque, the Jesuits,[32] Mannerism,[33] Spanish Renaissance poetry[34] or mystics like St John of the Cross,[35] is undoubtedly

---

[31] Roberts, New Perspectives, pp. 27-9.

[32] For Jesuit and other Catholic influences, see Antony Raspa, "Crashaw and the Jesuit Poetic," University of Toronto Quarterly, 36 (1966), 37-54, and The Emotive Image (Fort Worth, Texas, 1983), and Patrick Grant, "Richard Crashaw and the Capuchins: Imagery and the Force of Belief," in his Images and Ideas in the Literature of the English Reformation (Amherst, 1979).

[33] Lee A. Jacobus, "Crashaw as a Mannerist," Bucknell Review, 18 (1970), 79-88.

[34] R.V. Young, Crashaw and the Spanish Golden Age (New Haven, 1982).

[35] James B. Anderson, "Richard Crashaw, St. Teresa and St John of the Cross," Discourse, 10 (1967), 421-8, and R.V. Young, "Ineffable Speech, Carmelite Mysticism and Metaphysical Poetry," Communio: International Catholic Review, 17 (1990), 238-60.

interesting. However such criticism runs the risk of implying that his writing is of interest only for the influences that it betrays, and that Crashaw himself makes no contribution to the religious thought, or art, of the period. This would seem to be doing Crashaw's poetry an injustice. The following study is not an attempt merely to understand Crashaw's poetry within a given context. I argue that the contribution which his poetry makes to the language of devotion in the seventeenth century is sufficiently important that it ought to be considered on its own merits, and in its own right.

## Part One: "How God Should Be Express'd": Ovid, Prudentius, and the Creation of a Discourse of Sacred Love.

> I asked the seraphs: these at last confessed
> "We cannot tell how God should be expressed"[1]

The "Seraphs" could not tell the earthly writer in Beaumont's poem how to express religious love. However, the creation of a "discourse centred in heaven" was to be one of the most important objects of Crashaw's poetry. This first section of the thesis will concentrate upon Crashaw's earliest published poetry, the Epigrammata Sacra. In these Latin epigrams Crashaw strove to discover a language in which he could express his love for God. He attempted to adapt a previous discourse, that of earthly erotic love, to his own purpose of writing poetry of love for a sacred beloved. However, I shall argue that his attempts to do so were influenced by the work of two earlier poets, Ovid and Prudentius.

Ovid was probably the most famous Latin erotic poet, and his writing was not only a model for Latin poets, but was extremely influential on English writing in the Renaissance. Thus he would be an obvious exemplar for any poet who wished to adapt the conventions of erotic poetry to a sacred purpose, as Crashaw was to do. Prudentius was an early Christian poet who attempted to discover an appropriate language to express not only the glorious pain of Martyrdom, but his own dedication to God. Even in his earliest poetry it is evident that Crashaw was aware that wounding and pain could provide a powerful means of communication with the divine. Throughout his work he was to return to the idea that only through suffering could humanity respond to Christ's sacrifice at the Crucifixion. Prudentius'

---

[1] Joseph Beaumont, "Love's Mystery", ll. 7-8.

exposition of the suffering of the martyrs, who through their pain achieved the glory of God's love, is, thus immediately relevant to a study of Crashaw's own poetry.

Both Prudentius and Ovid, as I shall argue in the following chapters, used the language of a value system opposed to their own, and adapted it to produce a discourse to express their own poetry of love. Ovid used the language of the institutions of Augustan Rome such as religion, the law, and military conquest to create a discourse of erotic love, whose values were perceived by other erotic poets like Propertius and Tibullus to be inimical to those of the Roman state. Prudentius also used the conventions of Latin poetry. Although Latin was the language of those who had persecuted Christians, he used the tropes of previous Latin poetry from which to develop a language in which to express his love for God. I shall argue that an investigation of this process of, as it were, conceptual translation is vital for the study of Crashaw's poetry. After considering the work of Prudentius and Ovid in the first two chapters, I shall end the section with a discussion of how Crashaw himself was a successor to the efforts of the two earlier poets, as he strove to adapt the conventions of earthly, erotic love, to a heavenly theme. It is clear that the process of linguistic adaptation, which he began in the epigrams, can be seen in his later English poetry.

## Chapter One: Ovid and "This Book of Loves"

> Nay I will read thy book, and never move
> Till I have found therein thy love;
> Thy art of love, which I'll turn back on thee,
> O my dear saviour, Victorie.
> ("The Reprisall", ll. 45-48)

The text which George Herbert refers to in "The Reprisall", as a sacred "art of love" is obviously the Bible. His readership may well have been as familiar with two other, highly influential, secular books of love, Ovid's Amores and Ars Amatoria, "The Art of Love". The way in which Herbert deliberately refers both to Ovid and the Bible shows how even a sacred writer was indebted to the influence of Ovid's poetry in his creation of a Christian discourse. He implies that, since Ovid was a fashionable and essential guide from which all human lovers could learn the tricks of love, the Bible could become the same kind of guide from which Christians could learn to love God.[2]

By the time Herbert wrote "The Reprisall", Ovid's erotic poetry was already a profound influence on thinking, and writing on love. He was the poet whom Renaissance writers themselves would have seen as the greatest exponent of erotic poetry. Crashaw's Elegiac introductory poem to the Epigrammatum Sacrorum Liber, "Lectori",[3] shows that he was very familiar with the tropes and subject matter of Latin erotic elegy. His own discourse of religious love is also indebted to Ovid, and he attempts to define his own writing in relation to erotic conventions. By

---

[2] For evidence that Herbert read Ovid, and "parodied" part of the Ars Amatoria see A. Davenport, "George Herbert and Ovid," Notes and Queries, 200 (1955), 98.

[3] Richard Crashaw, Epigrammatum Sacrorum Liber (Cambridge, 1634).

investigating Ovid's erotic poetry and presentation of the themes which Crashaw was later to adapt, this chapter will form a basis for consideration of this process at a later stage.

In 1600, Marlowe's translation of the Amores was called in by the Bishop of London and burnt.[4] In the 1580s and '90s six editions of Marlowe's translation had been produced, but all were printed secretly.[5] Despite their obvious, if illicit, popularity with readers, the religious authorities may have felt that their explicit eroticism was not acceptable.[6] However, this was not typical of the general attitude to the majority of Ovid's works. Even school-boys read Ovid, as his poetry was used as an example of Latin at its most elegant.[7] Ovid's poetry was used in schools to teach versification, letter writing and rhetoric. Eton used Ovid's Heroides for senior rhetoric by 1528, and both Eton and Bury St Edmunds school used the Tristia for teaching versification. Many schools insisted on the rote learning of passages from the Metamorphoses, in 1530 Winchester boys had to learn twelve lines of it a week.[8] Students probably first encountered Ovid in a selection of passages from

---

[4] William Keach, Elizabethan Erotic Narratives (New Brunswick, 1977), pp. 29-30, for the text of the edict, see Edward Arber, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640, III (London, 1876), p. 316.

[5] See The Works of Christopher Marlowe, ed. C.F. Tucker Brooke (Oxford 1966). The editor notes that these editions were all undated and doubts their claim to have been printed in Middelburg in Holland.

[6] It is also possible that this was because it was printed with Sir John Davies's Epigrammes.

[7] J.W. Binns, Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England (Leeds, 1990), pp. 291-307, T.W. Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke (Urbana Ill, 1944), especially I, pp. 285-436, and II, pp. 380-455.

[8] Caroline Jameson, "Ovid in the Sixteenth Century," in Ovid, ed. J.W. Binns (London, 1973), pp. 210-242, (p. 212).

Latin literature such as Pico de la Mirandola's Flores Poetarum, which included passages from the Amores. These would be read out to the pupils, who had to translate them first into English, then back into Latin, and were expected to produce an elegant imitation of the original text.[9] This habit of imitation clearly persisted into adulthood. Joseph Beaumont's commonplace book shows that he was collecting Classical extracts at university and beyond, to judge by the developing maturity of the hand.[10] The erotic poems were not taught in schools, but they were usually bound in the same volume as the Heroides, the most commonly studied of Ovid's elegiac poems, and easily available to any slightly inquisitive pupil. An example of what appears to be a school copy in Cambridge University Library shows heavy annotations in several hands in the Heroides. Such annotations are not present in the Amores and Ars Amatoria.[11] However it seems highly likely that these would have been privately read, if not part of the official curriculum.

Ovid was, then, extremely influential during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. All Ovid's poetry, but especially the Metamorphoses, proved an enormous influence on many Renaissance writers including Sidney, Spenser, Donne

---

[9] Jonathan Bate, Shakespeare and Ovid (Oxford, 1993), pp. 21-2.

[10] Peterhouse Library, Beaumont Papers, Ms. 446. This is named "Joseph Beaumont", and dated 1630.

[11] Publius Ovidius Nasonis, Poemata Amatoria (Antwerp, 1545), (X.11.29). Baldwin found a 1566 reprint of the same edition, which must have been a standard textbook, in the British Library, (11355. aa. 26), showing the same sort of markings. See Baldwin, II, p. 423.

and Shakespeare.[12] Indeed the compliment of being the "modern Ovid" was payed not only to Shakepeare but Daniel, Drayton and Chapman.[13]

Although this secular, avowedly erotic, poetry would seem to be a strange source of influence for a religious poet, by Crashaw's time Ovid's work had been used as religious allegory for hundreds of years. From the fourth century A.D., the Metamorphoses had been moralised, and the erotic content used as an allegory of divine love. Prudentius himself was one of the first authors to do this. In his Hamartigenia, he conflates the biblical story of Lot's wife with the Ovidian tale of Niobe.[14] Venatius Fortunatus also applied Ovid's erotic poetry to the love of a Nun for Christ. The tradition continued throughout the middle ages, and was exemplified by the production of the anonymous translation and commentary, the Ovid Moralisé, in the fourteenth century.[15]

By the seventeenth century the popularity of moralisation had declined, but the existence of such a tradition suggests that the dichotomy between Ovid's erotic

---

[12] For discussion of Ovid's influence see Edward Kennard Rand, Ovid and his Influence (London, 1926), pp. 150-168, Lee T. Pearcy, The Mediated Muse (Hamden Conn. 1984), Colin Burrow, "Original Fictions: Metamorphoses in *The Faerie Queen*," in Ovid Renewed, ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 99-119, Laurence Lerner, "Ovid and the Elizabethans," in Martindale, pp. 121-136.

[13] Lerner, p. 122. Francis Meres' famous comment that "The sweete wittie soule of Ovid lives in the mellifluous and hony-tongued Shakespeare" can be found in Palladis Tamia, in Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. Gregory Smith, (Oxford, 1904), II. pp. 317-8.

[14] Prudentius, Hamartigenia, in Aurelii Prudentii Clementis: Carmina, ed. Maurice P. Cunningham (Turnholt, 1966), pp. 116-181, ll. 742-753; Ovid; Metamorphoses, book 6, ll. 301-312.

[15] Bate, p. 25. For discussion of Ovid Moralisé, see Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods (New York, 1953), pp. 92-3, Ann Moss, Ovid in Renaissance France (London, 1982), pp. 23-27.

writing and religious poetry was probably felt less strongly in the seventeenth century that it is by modern readers. Nevertheless salacious and humorous erotic poetry would seem to be a strange model from which to develop a discourse of sacred commitment to God.

Ovid certainly appears to accord little respect to Roman religion. It has always been very much a given in the study of Roman erotic Elegy that its writers were essentially anti-establishment in their politics, and Ovid's poetry may seem to be no exception to such a generalisation.[16] He was, after all, banished by the Emperor, and he abandoned the *cursus honorum* for the unofficial career of a poet.[17] Yet rather than showing a simple opposition to Augustan values, he uses the language of Roman ritual while adapting it for use in erotic poetry. This demonstrates how he is able to adapt the language of one system of values to describe his own erotic world.

In Amores II,1, for example, he used the language of state religion to introduce his own poetic mission. At first he appears to be opposed to official religion, as he produces a parody of its ritual, and portrays himself as a priest of love.

> Hoc quoque composui Paelignis natus aquosis
> ille ego nequitiae Naso poeta meae;
> hoc quoque iussit Amor; procul hinc, procul este, severi:
> non estis teneris apta theatra modis.

---

[16] For example, J.P. Sullivan, "The Politics of Elegy," Arethusa, 5 (1972), 17-34 (pp. 22-5), Brooks Otis, Ovid as an Epic Poet, 2nd. edn. (Cambridge, 1970), p. 2, R.A. Lanham, The Motives of Eloquence (New Haven and London, 1976), p. 49.

[17] This is suggested by Tristia IV,1,71 and IV,10,37.

(ll. 1-4)

I, Ovid, poet of my wantonnesse,
Borne at Peligny, to write more addresse.
So *Cupid* wills; farre hence be the severe:
You are not unapt my looser lines to hear.[18]

The priestly language of "procul este severi" has been abstracted from its formal role as part of the religious duties of a priest,[19] its lofty tone undermined by the God it worships, Amor.[20] This god, instead of ordering away the "Profani" or unworthy, as in Horace, positively welcomes them.[21] As Solodow notes, here Ovid portrays a central feature of Roman cultural life, to suggest that its only importance is as a way of serving lovers.[22]

Despite his apparent lack of respect for religion, Ovid uses the connotations of religious language for his own purposes.

At facie tenerae laudata saepe puellae
ad vatem, pretium carminis, ipsa venit

(ll. 33-5)

But when I praise a pretty wenches face,
She in requitall doth me oft embrace.
A great reward:

The term "vates" had been developed to indicate the serious, sacred nature of a poet's mission, since the word may be used to signify a prophet or priest as well as

---

[18] Translations of the Amores are all from Christopher Marlowe's version, All Ovid's Elegies first printed in London in 1602, the text used throughout is The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe, vol. I, ed. Roma Gill (Oxford 1987)

[19] Eduard Fraenkel, Horace (Oxford, 1957), p. 264.

[20] For other instances of humorous usages of ritual language, see J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, Continuity and Change in Roman Religion (Oxford, 1979), p. 21.

[21] See Virgil, Aeneid 6, line 258, and Horace Odes 3,1, where the poet uses similarly priest-like language.

[22] J.B. Solodow, "Ovid's Ars Amatoria: The Lover as Cultural Ideal," Wiener Studien, NS, 11 (1977), 106-27, (p. 112)

a poet.[23] The term is used with particular frequency in the Aeneid.[24] Thus, for Ovid's readership, the word carried connotations of the public, official, religious role of poetry. Yet Ovid claims to be a "vates" not of official religion,[25] but of unofficial sexuality. His poems are magical because they lure women to him.

This lack, or indeed parody of, religious and poetic seriousness would not seem to provide the most obvious model for later poets trying to produce a discourse of serious religious commitment. However, it shows how a discourse which has originally celebrated one thing can at the same time be used to elevate another subject, as the language of Roman religion is taken over by love.

In Amores I,7, Ovid invokes other symbols of Roman officialdom, but his use of them suggests that he is far from being an anti-establishment poet. He begins the poem by informing us that he has hit his mistress and is horrified at his own violence.[26] Yet he condemns himself using the language of Roman law.

> an, si pulsissem minimum de plebe Quiritem
> plecterer, in dominam ius mihi maius erit?
> (ll. 29-30)
>
> Punisht I am, if I a *Roman* beat,
> Over my Mistris is my right more great?

In some ways he is creating a higher law that the state's, as Roman law did not give

---

[23] OLD, II, p. 1215.

[24] See Henrietta Holm Warwick, A Vergil Concordance, (Minneapolis, 1975), p. 901 and J.K. Newman, Augustus and the New Poetry (Brussels, 1967), pp. 99-128.

[25] For discussion of the political role of religion under Augustus, see Alan Wardman, Religion and Statecraft Among the Romans (London, 1982), pp. 63-103.

[26] For discussion of the poem, see H. Akbar Khan, "*Ovidius Furens*: A Revaluation of *Amores* I,7," Latomus, 25 (1966), 880-94.

a woman the right to bring a charge of assault against a citizen.[27] Yet this is all done through an adaptation of legal vocabulary.[28] This indicates some respect on the *amator*'s part for the concept of citizenship, as he adopts official language in his own discourse, rather than rejecting such values entirely.

He then follows the image of one Roman institution, the law, with another, the triumph.

> i, nunc, magnificos victor molire triumphos,
> cinge comam lauro votaque redde Iovi,
> quaeque tuos currus comitantum turba sequetur,
> clamet "io, forti victa puella viro est"
> (ll. 35-38)

> Goe now thou conqueror, glorious triumphs raise,
> Pay vowes to Jove, engirt thy haire with Bayes,
> And let the troopes which shall thy Charriot follow
> "Io, a strong man conquer'd this wench", hollow.

The triumph was one of the most important and venerable of Roman rituals, associated as much with religion as with politics.[29] It was the highest honour that a general could receive, and was so jealously guarded by Augustus that during his reign no-one except his own family and close friends was awarded one after 19BC.[30]

This triumph, however, is one in which the *amator* himself is made to appear risible, as the capture of a girl creates a ridiculous picture of over-reactive violence. The humour derives from the inglorious nature of this triumph. If it were

---

[27] J. A. Crook, The Law and Life of Rome (London, 1967), p. 277.

[28] For discussion of Ovid's knowledge of the law and legal terminology, see E.J. Kenney, "Ovid and the Law," Yale Classical Studies, 21 (1969), 241-63.

[29] Karl Galinsky, "The Triumph Theme in Augustan Elegy," Wiener Studien, NS, 3 (1969), 75-107, (pp.76-7).

[30] Ronald Syme, The Roman Revolution (Oxford, 1939), p. 404.

truly glorious the *amator* would turn general and lead enemies, conquered in a real battle, in a public triumph. The implication is, therefore, that a mistress is less significant than a public career. The metaphor of her as a prize is not one of a precious mistress to be won at all cost, but as a devalued captive, who brings no glory to her conqueror. The *amator* is not ashamed because he hit a woman, but because he only hit a woman, and that he did so in a traditionally female way, by pulling her hair and scratching her cheeks. As the Renaissance commentator, Iacobus Micyllus explains:

> Turpe est viro foeminam vincere, puellam praesertim. Nam ... nullum memorabile nomen Foeminea in poena est nec habet victoria laudem.[31]
>
> It is shameful for a man to defeat a woman, especially a girl. For a famous name cannot be made in battling with a woman, and such a victory is not praiseworthy.

Thus it is effeminacy more than rape which causes both the humour and embarrassment here. In II,12 the Triumph image returns.

> Ite triumphales circum mea tempora laurus:
> vicimus: in nostro est ecce Corinna sinu,
> ...
> Haec est praecipuo victoria digna triumpho
> in qua, quaecumque est, sanguine praeda caret.
> (ll. 1-2 and 5-6)
>
> About my temples go, triumphant Bayes,
> Conquer'd Corinna in my bosome layes.
> ...
> That victory doth chiefly triumph merit,
> Which without bloodshed doth the prey inherit.

Unlike I,7, in which a triumph over a lone woman is not perceived as admirable, here the triumph is transformed to celebrate the *amator's* victory over the husband

---

[31] P. Ovidii Nasonis, Poetae Sulmonis Operum Cum Doctorum Virorum Comentariis (Frankfurt, 1601), p. 201.

who has locked the woman in.

He openly admits to being a rapist, but once more, legitimates such violence by refering to venerable Roman values, in this case those of military valour.

> Me duce ad hanc voti finem, me milite veni;
> ipse eques, ipse pedes, signifer ipse fui.
> (ll. 13-14)

> I guide, and souldier wonne the field, and wear her,
> I was both horse-man, foot-man, standard-bearer.

Although the life of a poet was perceived to be the antithesis of a public career,[32] Ovid has borrowed the vocabulary of military service to describe his exploits. Even the exempla with which he compares himself are drawn from the history of the Roman state, whether actual or legendary.[33]

> nec bella est nova causa mei: nisi rapta fuisset
> Tyndaris, Europae pax Asiaeque foret;
> femina silvestris Lapithas populumque biformem
> turpiter adposito vertit in arma mero;
> femina Troianos iterum nova bella movere
> impulit in regno, iuste Latine, tuo;
> femina Romanis etiamnunc Urbe recenti
> inmisit soceros armaque saeva dedit.
> (ll. 17-23)

> Nor is my warres cause new, but for a Queene
> *Europe* and *Asia* in firme peace had beene.
> The *Lapithes* and the *Centaures* for a woman,
> To cruell armes their drunken selves did summon.
> A woman forc'd the Trojans new to enter
> Warres, just *Latinus* in thy kingdomes center.
> A woman against the late-built Rome did send
> The *Sabine* Fathers who sharpe warres intend.

---

[32] Charles Segal, "Catullan Otiosi: The Lover and the Poet," Greece and Rome, NS 17 (1970), 25-31.

[33] John T. Davis, "*Exempla* and Anti-*Exempla* in the *Amores* of Ovid," Latomus, 39 (1980), 412-17.

The mention of a queen who has so disturbed the peace is obviously an allusion to Helen and the Trojan War, but must also have reminded his original readers of Cleopatra, about whose defeat Horace had written the "Cleopatra Ode".[34] In this poem, Horace celebrates the triumph of the Roman state over the Queen who had threatened it, and who exemplifies just the kind of anarchy and effeminacy which poets were felt to represent.[35] Yet again Ovid seems to side with the concerted propaganda campaign which Augustus waged against her.[36]

He also alludes to the Aeneid, in which Virgil describes how Aeneas defeated the Latins, and their King, Latinus, and won Latinus' daughter, Lavinia.[37] Finally Ovid refers to the rape of the Sabine women by Romulus and the original Romans.[38] Again this seems to place him in sympathy with myths of the founding of the city, especially since Augustus was known to have associated himself with Romulus, and even considered taking his name.[39] It could be argued that Ovid covets the trappings of public success in the unofficial and private sphere of love, as he uses the image of the triumph to glorify a rather mundane action of sneaking a

---

[34] Horace, Odes, I,37. For discussion of Augustan poetic representations of Cleopatra's defeat, see Maria Wyke, "Augustan Cleopatras: Female Power and Poetic Authority," in Anton Powell, ed., Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus (Bristol, 1992), pp. 98-140, Mary Hamer, Signs of Cleopatra (London and New York, 1993), pp. 28-9.

[35] Horace, Odes, I,37, especially stanza three.

[36] Lucy Hughes-Hallett, Cleopatra (London, 1990), pp. 54-94.

[37] Virgil, Aeneid, book 12, ll. 919-50.

[38] Livy, Book I. 9. 16-10.1.

[39] A.W.J. Holleman, "Ovid and Politics," Historia, 20 (1971), 458-66, (p. 464.), Hans Petersen, "Livy and Augustus," TAPhA, 92 (1961), 440-52, (pp. 443-5).

girl out of her husband's house.

However much he tries to extract language from one idiom and insert it in another, some of the original connotations of the idiom of Augustan public ritual remain inherent within it. To explain how this process works it is helpful, at this stage, to refer to some lingiustic theories of how meaning changes within language. Ovid seems to be attempting to abstract words from one linguistic register to another. Hughes explains *register* as:

> a language variation according to social role or social situation, especially to the degree of formality in the language employed. Eliza Doolittle's cockney ejaculation "Not bloody likely!" (in Shaw's *Pygmalion*) was a notorious violation of the register ... appropriate to Edwardian polite society.[40]

Thus the type of language usually found in a literary register will differ from that of slang, and if vocabulary typical of one register is used in the other, it will retain connotations of its origins. Ovid is, therefore, attempting to abstract language usually found in the formal discourse of an Augustan ritual such as the triumph, and apply it to a very different situation, the more private, and informal discourse of erotic love. However, although such language has been adapted for use in erotic poetry, it is still redolent of its original register of the formal language of public ritual.

Ovid uses the triumph as a metaphor for his experience as a captive of love, and metaphor is recognised as one of the most common ways in which language aquires new meanings. The foot, for example, is the lowest part of the body, and so the foot of a hill is its lowest part.[41] However, as April McMahon makes clear, even

---

[40] Geoffrey Hughes, Words in Time, (Oxford, 1988), p. 17.

[41] April M.S. McMahon, Understanding Language Change, (Cambridge,

if a word aquires an entirely new meaning, it may still retain its original sense as well.[42] Thus the word foot still refers to the part of the body as well as connoting the lowest part of something. In the light of such linguistic observations, we can see why it is almost impossible for Ovid to create a "new" erotic discourse which does not share any of the connotations of the value system from which he appropriated it. If he uses the triumph as a metaphor, the language will still, almost inevitably, retain associations with its former, literal meaning. Even if he wishes to write in a less formal, more private idiom, his language will still be redolent of its original formal register.

It may be, however, that Ovid deliberately reminds his readers of the connotations of his language's original Augustan register. His association of Roman history with such an insignificant action could be seen as reflecting badly on these exempla. He could be implying that far from being important events, they were just as tawdry and insignificant as his escapade. Furthermore these exempla are also undermined by a disturbing undercurrent of sexual violence.[43] The Trojan war was necessary for the founding of Rome, since Aeneas and his followers escaped from Troy, but it caused massive bloodshed and suffering. The later books of the Aeneid also show the cost in lives of Aeneas' triumph, and Virgil emphasises the nobility of Turnus, who has ultimately to be killed for Aeneas to succeed.[44] In the same way

---

1994), pp. 182-3.

[42] McMahon, p. 176.

[43] For discussion of rape in Rome's founding myths, see Stephanie H. Jed, Chaste Thinking (Bloomington, Ind., 1989), pp. 2-4.

[44] See Wendell Clausen, "An Interpretation of the *Aeneid*," HSPC, 68 (1964), 139-47.

the Sabine women were seized for the sake of Rome's future.[45] Rather than dignifying love in Augustan language, Ovid seems to be implying that such apparently heroic actions were not worth their cost in bloodshed, and are just sordid rapes.[46] This reading of the lines is lent weight by the final couplet of the poem.

> me quoque, qui multos, sed me sine caede, Cupido
> iussit militiae sina movere suae.
>
> (ll. 27-8)

> And me with many, yet me without murther,
> *Cupid* commands to move his ensignes further.

Love is, finally, superior to warfare, because it does not cause the terrible slaughter that he has just described in the exempla. Ovid demonstrates that the language of the Roman state, whose values he professes to oppose, can be used for his own erotic purposes. Yet such language may also be used to criticise Augustan values, even while appearing to endorse them. As Kennedy points out there is no absolute criterion of Augustanism or Anti-Augustanism.[47] Even in the case of Ovid the degree to which a statement is read as conflicting with or supporting official ideology is as much a function of the readers' views as that of the writer.

The image of the poet as love's standard-bearer in line fourteen, refers back to another scene of triumph in I,2. The portrait of Love's triumph is a more straightforward parody of Augustan power than those in I,7 and II,12. In this case the spectacle is described in much greater detail, and *Amor*, not the *amator* is the

---

[45] See Ovid, Fasti, III, 302.

[46] His opinion of the Rape of the Sabines is even less repectful in Ars Amatoria, I, 110-130, which stresses the male brutality and female distress caused by the rape.

[47] Duncan F. Kennedy, "'Augustan' and 'Anti-Augustan': Reflections on Terms of Reference," in Powell, pp. 26-58, (pp. 40-42), see also Howard Erskine-Hill, The Augustan Idea in English Literature (London, 1983).

victorious general. Before we even see a mistress, the *amator* becomes the symbolic booty of a tyrant, Love.

> En ego, confiteor, tua sum nova praeda, Cupido;
> porrigimus victas ad tua iura manus.
> nil opus est bello: veniam pacemque rogamus;
> nec tibi laus armis victus inermis ero.
> (ll. 19-22)

> Loe I confesse, I am thy captive, I,
> And hold my conquer'd hands for thee to tye.
> What needst thou warre. I sue to thee for grace,
> With armes to conquer armlesse man is base.

Here Ovid is the defeated enemy, but is entirely unashamed of it. Again this shows how he is able to alter the conventions of erotic poetry. Previous Latin love elegists, such as Propertius, had at least attempted to create the impression that their poetry was confessional and "sincere"[48] and that the mistress was of vital importance to the poet.[49] Propertius opens his Monobiblos with "Cynthia prima fuit..." but Ovid frames the Amores, and each separate book, with poems about writing. The mistress is far less important than poetry itself and an explanation of Ovid's subject and metre.[50] Cupid may be the god of love, but by the time we read of his triumph in I,2 it has become clear that he snared Ovid by the harm he did to his metre, as well as his heart. Instead of presenting the more usual situation where a woman

---

[48] Archibald W. Allen, "'Sincerity' and the Roman Elegists," Classical Philology, 45 (1950), 145-60.

[49] See Maria Wyke, "Written Women: Propertius' *Scripta Puella*," JRS, 77 (1987), 47-61, (p. 47-8) and "Mistress and Metaphor in Augustan Elegy," Helios, 16 (1989), 25-47, (pp. 25-7), J. Sullivan, Propertius (Cambridge, 1976), p. 80, Georg Luck, "The Woman's Role in Latin Love Poetry," in Perspectives of Roman Poetry, ed. G. Karl Galinsky (Austin Texas, 1974), pp. 15-31.

[50] The appearance of Love before the beloved is discussed in I.M.Le.M. Duquesnay, "The Amores," in Binns, Ovid, p. 2, and Paul Veyne, Roman Erotic Elegy, Trans. David Pellauer (Chicago and London, 1988), pp. 107 and 111.

steals the lover's heart, in Amores I,1, Cupid interrupts the process of poetic composition.

> Arma gravida numero violentaque bella parabam
> edere, materia conveniente modis.
> par erat inferior versus; risisse Cupido
> dictur atque unum surripuisse pedem.
> (ll. 1-4)

> With muse prepar'd I meant to sing of Armes,
> Chusing a subject fit for fierce alarmes.
> Both verses were alike, till love (men say)
> Began to smile and tooke one foot away.

Ovid claims to have been tempted to write an epic in hexameters, like Virgil's Aeneid, whose opening he is parodying here.[51] Yet while his verse form may have altered by Cupid, Ovid never actually abandons the language of warfare, he merely adapts it to Cupid's purposes.

Some very shameful and un-Augustan figures are among the ranks of Love's army; *Blanditiae*, *Error*, and *Furor*. Augustus may have attempted to tame love with legislation,[52] but Love, in Ovid's portrayal, not only refuses to be cowed, but borrows one of Augustus' rituals to celebrate his victory. Yet Ovid deliberately writes himself as the victim of violence. Among other captives we find *Mens Bona* and *Pudor*, not surprisingly, virtues associated with the kind of society Augustus was trying to promote. The status of the *amator* is, therefore, ambiguous, as he is, by implication, on the same side as these virtues, as a fellow prisoner.[53] This

---

[51] For discussion of Ovid's parodies of Virgil, see J.M. Fyler, *"Omnia Vincit Amor*: Incongruity and the Limitations of Structure in Ovid's Elegiac Poetry," Classical Journal, 66 (1971), 196-203, (p. 197), E.J. Kenney, "Nequitiae Poeta," in Ovidiana, ed. N.I. Herescu (Paris, 1958), pp. 201-9.

[52] See J.P.V.D. Balsdon, Roman Women (London, 1962), pp. 75-9.

[53] Charles R. Phillips, "Love's Companions and Ovid, *Amores* I.2," in Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History, ed. Carl Deroux (Brussels, 1980),

passage also seems to be a direct parody of Virgil as the Renaissance commentator, Iacobus Micyllus, notes.[54] In Aeneid I Jupiter prophesies the end of the civil war and the establishment of peace under Augustus: the gates of war are shut, and *Furor* is locked inside, sitting on a pile of weapons,[55] whereas in Ovid's version *Furor* leads the parade and civic virtues are incarcerated. Even in the final couplet, Ovid's highly ambiguous attitude to Augustan virtues forms the basis of an unsteadying shift of perspective.

> aspice cognati felicia Caesaris arma:
> qua vicit, victos protegit ille manu.
> (ll. 51-2)

> Behold thy kinsman Caesar's prosperous bands
> Who guards the conquered with his conquering hands.

This could be read as a sincere compliment to Augustus on his martial achievements.[56] Yet Ovid also refers to Cupid's being a kinsman of Augustus, who was very proud of his supposed descent from the goddess Venus. Any reminder that such a relationship would, logically, make him a cousin of Cupid's is, however, an insult to the *princeps*.[57] Theoretically Cupid has been granted his triumph by virtue of his membership of the imperial family. The unsteadiness of the couplet, derived from Ovid's strict interpretation of Roman mythology, means that he is able at once to justify love's very unofficial triumph, and denigrate Augustus.

The vocabulary Ovid uses in the triumph must, of necessity, be

---

pp. 269-77.

[54] P. Ovidii Nasonis (Frankfurt, 1601), p. 185.

[55] Aeneid, book I, ll. 293-6.

[56] Galinsky, p.102.

[57] Sara Mack, Ovid (New Haven and London, 1988), p. 64.

predominantly military. The idea of *Militia Amoris* is usually seen as one of the generic features of Latin Elegiac writing.[58] Indeed in I,9 Ovid himself writes an extended, light-hearted comparison of the roles of lover and soldier which seems to do nothing to contradict such a view of *militia* as a harmless convention. The imagery of warfare and violence is not just confined to this poem, however, and may not be as light-hearted as I,9 either. The first word of the collection is "arma". If love itself comes before the woman in Ovid's writing, then war comes before both. Micyllus thought such a beginning sufficiently strange to spend almost a page of his commentary attempting to explain it.[59] Love itself also uses weapons on the poet, creating poetry through a violent act:

> lunavitque genu sinuosum fortiter arcum
> "quod" que "canas, vates, accipe" dixit "opus"
> (ll. 23-4)

> And bent his sinewy bow upon his knee,
> Saying, Poet, heere's a *worke* beseeming thee.

Thus love poetry emerges from violence, as the god assaults, and conquers, his poet-victim, as love becomes a deepening spiral of violent conquest and subjugation.

In II,9 the *amator* uses military imagery for the first time to indicate dissatisfaction with Love's control. At first he portrays himself as a faithful soldier, worn out by hard campaigning in lines 1-24. The image is changed in the second part of the poem, and he himself becomes the victim, beset with violent images:

---

[58] See E. Thomas, "Variations on a Military Theme in Ovid's *Amores*," Greece and Rome, NS, 2 (1974), 151-65, and P. Murgatroyd, "*Militia Amoris* and the Roman Elegists," Latomus, 34 (1975), 59-69, Leslie Cahoon, "The Bed as Battlefield: Erotic Conquest and Military Metaphor in Ovid's Amores," TAPhA, 118 (1988), 293-307.

[59] P. Ovidii Nasonis (Frankfurt, 1601), p. 183.

Fige, puer: positis nudus tibi praebeor armis;
hic tibi sunt vires, hic tua dextra facit,

(ll. 35-6)

Strike boy, I offer thee my naked brest,
Here thou hast strength, here thy right hand doth rest.

As we shall see in chapter three, this couplet had a direct influence on Crashaw's own writing. Using the same command, "Fige puer", he also makes himself the victim of an assault of love, this time delivered by the Christ-child, instead of Cupid. Crashaw, therefore, adapts the idea that through being defeated it is possible to emerge victorious. In a Christian context, where Christ is celebrated as a resurrected victim of violence, such an idea was to become even more potent than in Ovid's use of it.

Gradually, however, the vocabulary of violence changes. Shame becomes bound up with considerations of love. In II,18, Ovid still refuses to write anything but elegy, but as he compares himself to his epic-writing friend Macer, he admits to being ashamed of writing love poetry. "saepe 'pudet' dixi", (I've often said "I'm ashamed of you"). This also follows immediately after the startling opening of II,17.

Si quis erit, qui turpe putet servire puellae,
illo convincar iudice turpis ego.
sim licet infamis, dum me moderatius urat
quae Paphon et fluctu pulsa Cythera tenet
atque utinam dominae miti quoque praeda fuissem,
formosae quoniam praeda futurus eram.

(ll. 1-6)

To serve a wench if any thinke it shame,
He being Judge I am convinc'd of blame.
Let me be slandered, while the fire she hides,
That *Paphos*, and the flood-beate *Cytherea* guides.
Would I had beene my mistresse gentle prey,
Since some faire one I should of force obey.

Despite the conditional, Ovid admits that his situation could be considered shameful, and describes the power relationship here as of women over a man. Love

is not, for the sake of this poem, personified by a male god, but by Venus. This produces a compromise between Augustan and elegiac attitudes. He resists admitting that love itself may be shameful, but concedes that it is humiliating for a man to be dominated by a woman, even if she is a goddess.

However, when Ovid resolves this problem in II,18 by insisting on the power of love poetry, rather than by proving that love is defensible, it is clear that Augustan attitudes have not been utterly repulsed. He justifies himself by insisting, as he does throughout the corpus, on the power of poetry to provide immortality. There is no justification of love as such, only in so far as it provides subjects for his poetry. He does boast that "artes teneri profitemur Amoris", (I have made capital out of gentle love).[60] Yet when the only defence against writing epic is that love brings him fame,[61] despite being shameful, then Roman values have not been discarded. Love has not been proven to be intrinsically superior to military epic, just more convenient as a vehicle for the writer's reputation. Like the triumph, the power of Augustan images can be harnessed by the lover, but not denied.

Yet he is hardly a devotee of poetic orthodoxy in love either. As poetry and the process of writing it is accorded more respect, the supposed mistress of the poetry becomes correspondingly insignificant. This indicates that love for Ovid is an essentially written affair. The most important lust is for immortality and fame through his words. There is no attempt to pretend to belong to an alternative society of lovers. Poetry, and the process of writing are ultimately far more important than any of their supposed objects.

---

[60] Amores, II, 18, line 19.

[61] Amores, II, 18, ll. 20-34 boast about the success of the Heroides.

Judith Hallett argued that Roman Elegists created their own "counter-culture" in which love became a real alternative to the public life of the *cursus honorum*.[62] But it is difficult to agree that Ovid's erotic poetry is an expression of an alternative society. Ovid uses Augustan language for his own purposes, but it is impossible to assert that he subverts or entirely opposes it. He does not deny the power of the Augustan symbolism he uses, rather this power is diverted into the discourse of erotic poetry.

He shows that it is possible to adapt the language of Augustan rituals and institutions for the purpose of writing erotic poetry. Thus Ovid's poetry is doubly important as an influence on Crashaw's poetry. Firstly he provides an example of earthly erotic discourse, from which Crashaw was able to develop his own language of religious love, whether in the Latin epigrams or the later English poetry. Secondly he explored the ways in which it was possible to adapt one type of language to another, seemingly dissimilar, purpose.

Ovid's attempts to do this are especially enlightening, since they demonstrate that any poet who attempts to adapt an inherited idiom, with its own powerful associations, cannot hope entirely to overturn or neutralise those associations. When language changes its meaning it often preserves the connotations of its previous register: metaphorical language still tends to retain its literal meaning. Thus a poet can only ever hope to destabilise the original associations of his idiom, rather than effecting a complete change. In this respect Ovid casts light on the ways in which Crashaw tries to use the energies and idioms of classical poetry for his own

---

[62] Judith P. Hallett, "The Role of Women in Roman Elegy: Counter Cultural Feminism," Arethusa, 6 (1974), 103-24.

religious purposes. As we shall see, for Crashaw too the inherited associations of the language of erotic love come distractingly through his efforts to transform it.

Ovid also demonstrates how strength can emerge through weakness. He is triumphed over by love, but is nonetheless able to wrest a kind of poetic victory from his conqueror, since it is through being the passive object of love that he is able to write, and thus to make himself immortal. In the next chapter I shall show that Prudentius made great use of images of passive victory, as did later generations of Christian poets, including Crashaw. The possibility that death and defeat could be seen as a form of glorious triumph was to provide inspiration for all of Crashaw's writing.

## Chapter Two: Prudentius and the Power of Defeat

Like Ovid before him, Prudentius also confronted the problem of how to write Latin poetry about a subject whose values were very different from those of the Roman state. As a product of Roman rhetorical training, both in his literary education and official career,[1] he attempted to create a discourse for Christian poetry from the pagan, classical Latin tradition with which he was familiar.[2] Yet this compelled him to write about Christian martyrs in the language of those who had been responsible for their deaths and persecution.

Prudentius' most vital poetic task was to assert that the act of being martyred was not an inglorious defeat, but a victory through death. Ovid had described himself as the living victim of love's violence, but Prudentius's task was to assert that martyrs had not been conquered, but through their actions had achieved the greatest possible prize, that of communion with God.

His poetry is, thus, of immediate relevance to a study of Crashaw's work, since Crashaw depicted wounding and pain as central to the Christian experience. Whether he refers to the physical pain endured by Christ, or St Teresa's spiritual wounding, he attempted to portray physical agony as a victory for the victim. It is difficult to know exactly what Crashaw's views about Prudentius were. However, by studying Renaissance editions of Prudentius, and the commentaries printed in

---

[1] See "Praefatio", ll. 12-22 and discussion in Macklin Smith, Prudentius' *Psychomachia* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 8-10, and Bernard M. Peebles, The Poet Prudentius (New York, 1951), pp. 15-22.

[2] See for example Maurice P. Cunningham, "The Contexts of Prudentius' Poems," Classical Philology, 17 (1976), 56-66, Charles Witke, "Prudentius and the Tradition of Latin Poetry," TAPhA, 99 (1968), 509-525.

some of them, it is possible to gain some information about how other educated Renaissance readers may have viewed him. I have therefore included the judgements which Renaissance commentators made on several passages of text in the following chapter.

Prudentius and his poetry are just emerging from a prolonged period of critical neglect. The work which I shall be concentrating on, the Peristephanon or, "on the Crowns", is a collection of poems on Martyrdom. Anne-Marie Palmer comments on the difficulty it presents for modern readers:

> Of all Prudentius' works, these are, in many ways, the most inaccessible for modern readers, who find it difficult to identify with, and understand, a genuine enthusiasm for martyr-cult and for stories that concentrate on, and glory in, the lurid details of torture and death, and the startling operation of the supernatural.[3]

Although an enthusiasm for such subjects may have deserted the late twentieth century it is clearly present in the Renaissance. Images of wounding as a form of worship permeate Crashaw's poetry. St. Teresa is praised as one who set off for "the Moors and Martyrdom".[4] After the English Reformation martyrdom remained a popular literary subject, since a new crop of martyrs was produced by the Marian persecution of Protestants.

Their sufferings were chronicled by John Foxe, a dedicated Protestant, forced into exile during the reign of Mary I, in his Actes and Monuments.[5] It seems

---

[3] Anne-Marie Palmer, Prudentius on the Martyrs (Oxford, 1989), p. 2

[4] Richard Crashaw, "A Hymn to St. Teresa", l. 64.

[5] Helen C. White, Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs (Madison, Wisc., 1963), p. 133. For a detailed account of his life, see J.F. Mozley, John Foxe and his Book (New York, 1940), chapters 1-4.

no accident that it came generally to be known as Foxe's Book of Martyrs.[6] The book proved to be so popular that four editions had been produced by the time of Foxe's death in 1587, and a futher five by the end of the seventeenth century.[7] In 1570 it was ordered to be placed with the Bible in all churches and public places. By the end of the seventeenth century its circulation of about 10,000 copies was second only to the Bible.[8] An account of life in the religious community at Little Gidding, which Crashaw is known to have visited,[9] mentions that the "Book of Martyrs" was read every day.[10]

We cannot be absolutely certain that Crashaw read Prudentius, but it seems extremely likely. In their discussion of his Latin epigrams, Laurens and Balavoine suggest that Crashaw's epigrammatic style was influenced by Prudentius.[11] There are also two copies of Prudentius' works in the library of Pembroke College, which appear to have been there during, and probably before, the 1630s, when Crashaw was an undergraduate.[12] The Wren Catalogue, which lists gifts to the library made

---

[6] John Foxe, Actes and Monuments (London, 1563).

[7] William Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (London, 1963), p. 9. The first English edition was produced in 1563, with revised editions in 1570, 1576 and 1583. Five more editions based on the 1583 text were produced in 1596, 1610, 1631-2, 1641 and 1684.

[8] Haller, p. 13.

[9] A.M. Williams, ed., Conversations at Little Gidding (Cambridge, 1970), p. lxiv.

10 J.E.B. Mayor, ed., Nicholas Ferrar (Cambridge, 1855), p. 64.

11 Pierre Laurens and Claudie Balavoine, Musae Reduces (Leiden, 1975), II, p. 494.

12 Several Renaissance editions are held in the library, but some have names and dates of ownership which mean that they could not have been there during Crashaw's time. The remaining texts show no such evidence and so it is possible that they have been in the library since that time. They are, Aurelii Prudentii

before 1616 also lists a book by "Clementis P".[13] Since that time, however, changes of shelf-marks make it impossible to know whether this is one of the two surviving volumes. Furthermore Joseph Beaumont, a colleague and close friend of Crashaw's at Peterhouse, produced a collection of morning and evening prayer, according to Gee, his biographer, called Cathemerina.[14] Though the manuscript has become separated from Beaumont's papers, it seems that this refers to Prudentius' Cathemerina, which is a collection of hymns for daily use, and may even have been a translation of it. This shows that Beaumont must have read Prudentius, and it is very probable, therefore, that Crashaw did so too.

Clearly Prudentius was a popular author in the Renaissance. Many different editions of his work exist, and his appeal may be judged by the variety of the books which appeared in the period 1501-1646. In format they range from tiny 16° pocket editions,[15] to beautifully illuminated books printed on vellum.[16] Yet while the vellum edition must have been extremely expensive, a perfectly plain version of the same edition was produced, printed on poor quality paper, and without any decoration.[17]

---

Clementis V.C. Sacra Quae Extant Poemata Omnia (Basle, 1562), (9.7.37), and Aureli Prudenti Clementis V.C Opera (Amsterdam, 1625), (2.5.53).

13 Wren, Memoriae, Veritati, Vertuti Sacram Laurum Pembrochianam Semper Virentibus Foliis Inscripta Nomina eorum qui Bibliothecae huic Donaria Contulere In Pieteato Gratitudinis, Officiique Testimonium Posuit, Collegii Pembrochiam Devotissimus (Cambridge, 1617).

[14] Joseph Beaumont, Original Poems in English and Latin, ed. John Gee (Cambridge, 1749), p. xxiii.

[15] For example, Aureli Prudenti Clementis V.C. Opera (Amsterdam, 1631), (C.U.L. 3.38.50).

[16] Prudentius, Sedulii Carmen Paschale. Aureli Prudentii Poemata (Milan, 1501), (C.U.L. sss. 54.30).

[17] Prudentius, Sedulii Carmen Paschale. Aureli Prudentii Poemata (Milan, 1501), (C.U.L. Norton e.32).

If the printer decided that there was demand for a cheaper edition, it would seem to indicate that Prudentius had popular as well as scholarly appeal.

The texts themselves also show evidence of the ways in which Prudentius was perceived by the academic community. One of the earlier editions held in Cambridge University Library, printed in 1503, has obviously been used by an educated person for their own personal study.[18] The printed text is covered in marginalia, which seem to be a commentary, written in Latin.

Most of the editions appear with some indications that Prudentius had become part of the established scholarly canon. The reader can expect to find, at the very least, an explanation of the metre in which the following hymn is written, with a few lines of general introduction to it. Several editions contain commentaries, either by Iohannus Sichardus,[19] Victor Ghisellinus,[20] Aelius Nebrissiensis,[21] or Iacobus Spigelius.[22] This scholarly respectability seems to have been bestowed on Prudentius in the Renaissance by the Christian humanists, including Erasmus.[23] An edition of the Peristephanon produced in 1538 is prefaced by an introductory poem

---

[18] Aureli Prudentii Clementis in quo scribitur passio beati Romani Martyres (Deventer, 1503), (C.U.L. F150.c.5.1).

[19] Aurelii Prudentii Clementi viri consularis, rerum divinarum (Lyons, 1553), (B.L. 11408.df.6).

[20] Aurelii Prudentii Clementis. V.Cons. Opera (Antwerp, 1610), (B.L. 1069.a.43).

[21] Libelii Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Viri Consularis (Luconii, 1512), (C.U.L F151.d.8.1).

[22] Aurelii Prudentii Clementis V.C. Sacra, Quae Extant, Poemata Omnia (Basle, 1562), (B.L. 1002.b.23).

[23] Edward Kennard Rand, "Prudentius and Christian Humanism," TAPhA 51, (1920), 71-83.

by Philip Melancthon.[24] It is also bound, in what looks like the original binding, with Erasmus' Dialectica and Parabolae and Libellus De Formando Studio by Rudolphus Agricola, Erasmus and Melancthon. Several editions also include Erasmus' commentary on one of the hymns from Prudentius' Cathemerina, and a letter written by Erasmus to the daughter of Sir Thomas More, perhaps as a tribute to a more recent martyr.[25]

The enduring value of Prudentius' work in the scholarly community throughout the period is shown by the production of the most academically ambitious edition of his work, printed a hundred years after Erasmus's time. A variorum edition of the complete works was published in 1613, and edited by Iohannus Wietzius.[26] This is a full critical edition, containing discussions of manuscript sources, and variant readings from them. A second volume of comentary contains analyses of the various poems by several different commentators, a glossary, a list of cited authors and an index "rerum et verborum memorabilium". The "Encomiae et testimonia virorum doctorum" which begin both volumes provide proof of Prudentius' reputation within the European scholarly community. He is hailed for his outstanding erudition,[27] his piety, elegance in writing,[28] gravity of

---

[24] Aurelii Prudentii Clementis viri consularis, Peri Stephanon (Leipzig, 1538), (C.U.L. Ven. 8.53.7).

[25] Aurelii Prudentii Clementi viri consularis, rerum divinarum (Lyons 1553), (C.U.L. 3.38.49).

[26] Aurelii Prudentii Clementis V.C. Opera Noviter Ad MSC. Fidem Recensita, Interpolata, innumeris a mendis pergata, Notisque et Indice accurato illustrata (Hanover, 1613), (C.U.L. Y.13.11).

[27] Erasmus, γ3ᵇ.

[28] Victor Gisellinus, γ4ᵇ.

attitude.[29] He is called the greatest of Christian poets, and ranked with Augustine, Virgil, and Horace.[30] The highest compliments fall into the two areas of humanistic education, piety and literary achievements which are seen to equal those of antiquity.

He is complimented both on the piety of what he wrote, and the poetic excellence with which he wrote it. Seventeenth century comentators compared Prudentius to two of the most eminent classical poets, Virgil and Horace.[31] This is not surprising, since he was influenced greatly by earlier Latin writers. As Witke notes: "His poetry reflects a deep reading of Roman poets from Lucretius to Claudian. He cites Horace eight times, Juvenal ten times, Virgil's Aeneid no fewer than eighty times, the Bucolica three times, Georgica sixteen times."[32] As Malamud argues, this familiarity with Latin poetry is due to the education and literary expectations of himself and his readers.

> They [poets of Prudentius' time] wrote ... from firmly within a highly developed and articulated literary tradition that stretched back to Homer, and they had the luxury of knowing that, because of the remarkable homogeneity of education in the ancient world, their audience was as steeped in that literature as they were. This enabled them, through judicious use of literary allusion, quotation, and variation, to write in a language whose economy, depth, and precision is hard for us to grasp today, because so many of the terms are lost to us.[33]

---

[29] Petrus Criutus, B4[b].

[30] Sidonius Appolinaris, B5[b].

[31] Sidonius Appolinaris, B5[b].

[32] Charles Witke, Numen Litteratum (Leiden and Cologne, 1971), p. 102.

[33] Martha A. Malamud, The Poetics of Transformation (Ithaca and London), 1989. p. 4

Seventeenth century forms of education, which stressed the reading of the Classics almost to the exclusion of all else, would also have enabled Renaissance readers to recognise the influences on his language. Malamud stresses the continuity between Prudentius and earlier writers. Witke also agues that although Prudentius took on a new belief system he did not automatically jettison all the cultural inheritance of Roman-ness. However, when he asserts that "He is a Christian poet because he is not trying to be anything except a Latin poet, writing out of energised commitment to life in the late fourth century" Witke is overlooking important facets of Prudentius' poetry.[34]

Prudentius was not only attempting to continue the traditions of Latin poetry. The commitment that energises the Peristephanon is of passionate Christian belief carried through torture and death. This is delivered by an authorial voice which makes no secret of being part of the struggle. Prudentius-qua-poet uses the materials of a Roman literary tradition, but never lets the audience forget that the same Roman state was the enemy and persecutor of the Christians. An opposition exists between the oppressed Christians and persecuting Rome, and it seems reasonable to assume that such an antagonism should be felt in the writing of these narratives.

The Martyrs Emeterius and Chelidonius whom the first hymn celebrates had been, like Prudentius himself, part of the Roman state machinery as soldiers in the army. Prudentius uses the language of military conquest to fuel the growth of a Christian discourse of Martyrdom. As Henderson suggests, line 25 of Hymn I is immediately reminiscent of the famous Horatian line "Dulce et decorum est pro

---

[34] Witke, Numen Literatum, p. 110.

patria mori"[35]: "hoc genus mortis decorum est, hoc probis dignum viris", (It is an honourable way of death and one which becomes good men). Thus, from the first, Prudentius uses a discourse which had been built up around the Roman idea of military glory. This linguistic and ideological resource provides the base from which he develops the glory of martyrdom: death for one's country becomes death for a belief. Prudentius then goes on to make the movement from one type of fight to another much more explicit:

> milites quos ad perenne cingulum Christus vocat
> sueat virtus bello et armis militat sacrariis.
> Caesaris vexilla linquunt, eligunt signum crucis
> proque ventosis draconum, quos gerebant, paliis
> praefuerunt insigne lignum, quod draconum subidit.
>
> (ll. 32-6)

> Soldiers whom Christ was calling to his everlasting service; it was valour used to war and arms that now fought for the altars. They abandoned Caesar's ensigns, choosing the standard of the cross, and in place of the swelling draperies of the serpents which they used to carry, led the way with the glorious wood which subdued the serpent.[36]

Here the antithetical style of lines 32-6 provides a metaphor for the conflict between two kinds of fighting. A Renaissance commentator, Nebrissiensis, notes that dragons were part of the decorations of a Roman standard, then points out that the word acquires a Christian signification in line 36.[37] Thus the significance of the cross grows out of the value of a Roman standard. Again, as in Ovid's poetry, this marks the continuity with, as well as departure from, an earlier mode of writing.

---

[35] J.W. Henderson, "Violence in Prudentius' *Peristephanon*," Akroterion, 28 (1983), 84-92, Horace, Odes 3,2, l. 13.

[36] Translations throughout are from Prudentius, trans., H.D. Thomson (London, 1979).

[37] Commentary by Aelius Antonius Nebrissiensis, in Aurelii Prudenti Clementis V.C. Opera (1613), II, p. 49.

Fourth century readers, knowing the historic value of the Roman army to the state, would be better able to understand how Martyrdom is perceived by Prudentius. He insists that these men and women did not die powerless and humiliated prisoners, whose death was a defeat and a loss to their fellow Christians. Martyrs must be seen as achieving something positive, as victors not vanquished. If martyrs' sacrifices are equated with death in battle, which the Roman state had always demanded of its forces, in order to further its own strength and power, then the Martyrs automatically acquire glory by this association.[38]

Prudentius' hymns are not epic in form, but we are introduced to the idea that they may serve a similar purpose to classical epic. The founding heroes in the early books of Livy's history of Rome and in the Aeneid belong to the distant and almost legendary past when Rome was a small and struggling state; but their struggles are celebrated as the enabling conditions of the new era of Augustan prosperity. Prudentius also writes stories of persecutions which happened as part of the struggle of a small, new, religion, for survival. He admits that his sources have a similar legendary status to those of the early Roman heroes in lines 73-5. But he writes about their fate from a position in which Christianity is relatively safe as the established religion, and is able to celebrate the heroism of those who helped this to happen. It is ironic, then, that the model he finds for this must be that of the state which for so long represented the enemy.

Hymn II begins by contrasting the two images of Rome, as Pagan and Christian:

Antiqua fanorum parens,

---

[38] Palmer, p. 140.

iam Roma Christo dedita,
Laurentio victrix duce
ritum triumphas barbarum.
  reges superbos viceras
populos frenis presseras,
nunc monstruosis idolis
inponis imperii iugum.

Rome, thou ancient mother of temples, but now given up to Christ, Lawrence has led thee to victory and triumph over impious worship. Thou hast already conquered mighty Kings and held the nations in check; now thou dost lay the yoke of thy power on unnatural idols.

This opening emphasises the continuity between the old and new city. The portrait of a Saint as a general in triumph alludes to Rome's past power and empire. By doing so Prudentius is able to effect the transition from one type of belief to another. He uses the symbolism of a Roman state ritual, the triumph, and makes a Christian the beneficiary of it, as Ovid had made Love a *Triumphator* in Amores I,2.

The commentator Nebrissiensis was in no doubt that Christianity is portrayed as preferable to Roman paganism. Commenting on line five, he asserts: "sensus est: quod prius sub falsa religione vicit orbem terrarum; nunc sub Laurentio vincit Deos falsos". (The sense of the line is that before this she (Rome) conquered the world under a false religion, but that now she defeats the false gods under Lawrence).[39]

The central episode of the poem illustrates the tension between Roman and Christian values. The Christians are said to be hoarding riches, which the prefect believes to be monetary. But Lawrence reveals these riches to be no more than the most undervalued members of Roman society, who are infinitely precious to the Christians. Lawrence's speech moves, like the poem itself, from seeming

---

[39] Aurelii Prudenti Clementis V.C. Opera (1613), II, p. 60.

identification with a Roman view, to a dialectic with it. His reply initially seems to admit to a treasure hoard:

> "est dives," inquit, "non nego,
> habetque nostra ecclesia
> opumque et auri plurimum,
> nec quisquam in orbe est ditior."
> (ll. 113-16)
>
> "Our church is rich," he says, "I make no denial. It has very much wealth and gold, no man in the world is richer."

The implication that the church is guilty of the prefect's accusation makes the shock of the denouement even greater, when the nature of these riches is revealed. The ambiguity inherent in the idea of riches also allows the lingiustic battle for Christian supremacy to be further advanced. Although the Romans use "aurum" (gold) as a metonymy for riches, Christians uses it as a metaphor for the poor and crippled. Prudentius uses the language of the oppressor, but shows that it can be a complex tool for the oppressed.

Malamud suggests that as a diplomat in the troubled political atmosphere of the fourth century AD. Prudentius would have had to learn how to encode politically sensitive material in innocuous language.[40] This passage uses a similar procedure. The prefect does not become suspicious because, unlike a Christian, he does not know the Biblical parables of alternative riches, such as "Dives and Lazarus" and the Camel and the needle's eye. The dialectic style that proceeds from a premise familiar to the culture of the society, to a conclusion at odds with that society's values would also be familiar from the reported style of Christ's teaching

---

[40] Malamud, Poetics of Transformation, p. 6.

seen in the Gospels.[41] Christian discourse from the writers of the Gospels onwards has proceeded as a negotiation with not only the values but even the very language of the non-Christian culture.

The conflict of Christian and Roman morality does not end, in Lawrence's case, with thesis and antithesis. His next stage in the argument is to demonstrate the superiority of a Christian interpretation of wealth. His criticism of conventional riches sounds very similar to classical satire.[42]

> Pudor per aurum solvitur,
> violatur auro integritas,
> pax occidit, fides perit,
> leges et ipsae intercidunt.
> (ll. 197-200)

> By means of gold the bonds of modesty are unloosed, and innocence is outraged, through it peace comes to an end, honour dies, the very law itself lapses away.

Three Renaissance commentators, Nebrissiensis, Remus and Weitzius, note this, and suggest a multiplicity of sources for line 197.[43] Unlike the classical satirists, however, the martyr offers an alternative vision of life, allied to a critique of Roman methods of worship. The device of the rich man who is physically corrupted

---

[41] For example, Luke, Chapter 14, verses 7-24.

[42] See Juvenal, Satires I and X, Sister Stella Marie, "Prudentius and Juvenal," Phoenix, 16 (1962), 41-52.

[43] Nebrissiensis suggests Ovid Metamorphoses, Book I, l. 140 and Virgil, Aeneid, Book III, although his reference is no more specific, in Aurelii Prudenti Clementis V.C. Opera (1613), II, p. 63. Georgius Remus suggests Isocrates, although again he offers no specific reference, in Aurelii Prudenti Clementis V.C. Opera (1613), II, p. 512. Iohannus Weitzius suggests Sophocles' Antigone, Horace Odes, Book III, 16, Lucan Pharsalia, Book III, 5, l. 118, and Virgil, Aeneid, Book V, l. 632, in Aurelii Prudenti Clementis V.C. Opera (1613), II, p. 587.

by indulgence is a familiar satirical ploy,[44] but what follows is a new departure:

> Tute ipse, qui Roman regis,
> contemptator aeterni dei,
> dum daemonum sordes colis,
> morbo laboras regio.
>
> Hi quos superbus despicis,
> quos execrandos iudicas,
> brevi ulcerosus exeunt,
> artus et incolumes erunt.
> (ll. 262-9)

> You yourself who rule over Rome, who despise the everlasting God, worshipping foul devils, are suffering from the ruler's sickness. These men whom in your pride you scorn and count detestable, will soon put off their sore ridden bodies and be in sound health.

The rulers of Rome, despite all the glories that the opening of the poem celebrated, are doomed to sickness, because they venerate devils. Prudentius evokes a new state for the physically sick who share Christian belief.

> non sordidati aut debiles,
> sicut videntur interim,
> sed purpurantibus stolis
> clari et coronis aureis.
> (ll. 273-6)

> (...) no longer dirty or feeble as at present they appear, but bright with robes of imperial purple, and golden crowns.

Ghisellinus found Prudentius' evocation of this new state highly effective, and commented: "Quae sequuntur secundissima sunt, & consolationis plena." (The [words that] follow are most apposite and full of consolation).[45] Weitzius also suggested that the image of the golden crowns was another reference to the military

---

[44] For example, Juvenal Satires, I, ll. 135-149.

[45] Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, Opera (Antwerp 1564), II, C5[a].

imagery of the Roman Triumph.[46] Although Prudentius uses the language of Roman ritual to connote a Christian victory, however, he also makes an important change. In the Roman triumph, the *Triumphator* surrendered his laurel wreath to the statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, to emphasise his mortality, and the god's superiority.[47] Here the crown the martyr wears is made of gold which will last for ever, to symbolise the glorious immortality achieved by the martyr.

By the end of the poem it has become clear that Prudentius, through a dialectic with established, and recognisable, classical tropes, forges a discourse for a Christian future. It is impossible to see the two ways of life as separate but equal. The Christian version is obviously intended to be pre-eminent. Yet, the language of Roman *imperium* is never entirely defeated, since its original connotations persist, even when adapted to a Christian discourse. The language of military conquest still evokes the past in which the Christians were persecuted by the Roman regime, even while it strives to express the Martyr's victory over such oppression.

Prudentius also deliberately evokes the classical past, by his use of the trope of poetic immortality. But in his use of the convention he defines a new Christian poetic. Ovid, for example, sees himself as part of a line of poets beginning at Homer, whose writing will assure their fame and immortality which he achieves as a result of being a victim of love.[48] As Palmer observes, this process must be varied by Prudentius:

> The Christian poet also hopes for immortality, but his hopes are not

---

[46] Aurelii Prudenti Clementis V.C. Opera (1613), II, p. 588.

[47] Galinsky, p. 76.

[48] Ovid, Amores I, 15.

> based on the survival of his poetry, but on his own personal salvation, gained as a reward for the very act of writing poetry dedicated to the glorification of God.[49]

Prudentius' martyrs choose to become victims because of their love for God, and in the belief that they will achieve eternal life. Prudentius makes clear that, like Ovid, his poetry is all he can offer. He does not claim immortality only because of the merit of his poems, but uses them as a device through which to gain the saints' help towards his own salvation:

> audi poetam rusticum
> cordis fatentem crimina
> et facta prodentem sua.
> indignus, agnosco et scio,
> quem Christus ipse exaudiat.
> sed per patronos matryras
> potest medellam consequi.
> (ll. 574-80)

> Listen to a country poet, as he acknowledges the sins of his heart and confesses his deeds. He is unworthy I know and own that Christ himself should hearken to him; but through the advocacy of the martyrs he may attain to healing.

He also deliberately aligns himself with classical poetics when he asks: "quo passionem carmine/digne retexens concinam?" (In what verses can I worthily sing, weaving once more the story of his passion?) He uses "retexens",[50] which is derived from "texere", to weave, and was the favourite image for the writer and his artifice in classical Greek and Latin poetry, the derivation for the English "text".[51]

At the beginning of Hymn Ten he also makes use of the classical convention

---

[49] Palmer, p. 15.

[50] As Nebrissiensis notes, in Aurelii Prudenti Clementis V.C. Opera (1613), II, p. 61.

[51] See Ovid, Epistolae ex Ponto, I,3, l. 30.

of unfitness to write without the aid of a Muse.

> Romane, Christi fortis adsertor Dei,
> elinguis oris organum fautor move,
> largire comptum carmen infantissimo,
> fac ut tuarum mira laudum concinam,
> nam scis et ipse posse mutos eloqui.
> (ll. 1-5)

> Romanus, stout defender of the divine Christ, grant thy favour and stir up the tongue within my speechless mouth, bountifully bestow graceful song on the mutest of men and enable me to sing the wonders of thy glory; for thou knowest, thyself too that the dumb can speak.

The martyr in the poem to come suffers for his defence of Christianity by having his tongue, "lingua", cut out.[52] "Lingua", of course, also means language. Here Prudentius attempts to disrupt the original, classical meaning of the word, by separating its literal from its metaphorical sense, so that the connection between the tongue and its namesake production is questioned. He tries to establish a Christian discourse, in which the usually gradual process of semantic change is interrupted.[53] Yet even here the connotations of the old imperial idiom are powerfully felt, simply because of the Martyr's name, "Romanus". Prudentius calls upon a man whose name means Roman as a muse, but even the name of a Christian martyr recalls the pagan Roman state.

Here again, Prudentius stresses that a seemingly mute victim can be made to speak with the aid of God's love, and though tormented, he may conquer his Roman adversary. The example of a martyr who speaks, even if apparently defeated inspires the writer to adopt him as a muse. At first the poet asks the saint for

---

[52] Hymn X, ll. 890ff.

[53] See McMahon, pp. 178-183.

inspiration to write his story. Then, at line 16 the evangelist is introduced, to write about Christ telling the Apostles about how to speak. And this passage is then quoted, becoming another level in Prudentius' text. The frames of narration, writing, and inspiration become confused, in a babble that only Christ can dispel, at line 21:

> sum mutus ipse, sed potens facundiae
> mea lingua Christus luculente disseret.
> ipse explicavit quos supremo spiritu
> daemon tumultus, dum domatur, moverit,
>
> (ll. 20-4)

> In myself I am dumb, but Christ is the master of eloquence; He will be my tongue, and discourse excellently. He will set forth all the uproar that the devil raised with his last breath.

The same pronoun, "ipse" is used to signify both Prudentius and Christ, as Christ, who is seen here as the example to all victims, intervenes to allow the writer to procede.

Even as they stress the power of a Christian deity, these lines are another example of the way in which the original classical meaning of the language complicates the Christan meanings which Prudentius wishes to impose on it. Unfortunately the translation of lines 23-4 has restricted Prudentius' original range of meaning. *Daemon* only came to be used to mean a devil in late, ecclesiastical Latin. In classical Latin it meant "a spirit, intermediary".[54] It was a direct transliteration from Greek, in which it was used most famously by Plato as the word to describe the special spirit or creative, controlling force felt by Socrates.[55] A

---

[54] OLD, I (Oxford, 1968), p. 483.

[55] See Plato, The Apology of Socrates, in Opera Omnia (Frankfurt, 1602), pp. 11-31.

Christian interpretation of the word does not invalidate its earlier, more positive connotations, and it seems that Prudentius is exploting the tensions inherent in the contradiction. *Spiritus* is a word of complex connotations, and does not simply mean "breath". It was also used to denote "divine inspiration, especially in the case of literature".[56] Prudentius' original and seventeenth century readers would have been well aware of these connotations, a Renaissance commentator certainly praised them for their effectiveness.[57] Read in this way the lines could mean "He himself will make clear the uproar that the creative genius stirred up with its final inspiration". God the creator intervenes as a type of heavenly editor or amanuensis for the confused but prolific poet. Equally, a *daemon* can be a devil or a creative spirit, and *spiritus* a destructive breath or poetic inspiration. This confusion of meaning results from Prudentius' attempts to adapt language from a previous idiom, with all its original associations, to a new idiom. The old associations cannot be banished, and show how difficult it is for a writer to forge a new idiom, without the interference of previous patterns of meaning. As I shall argue, this was a problem which was constantly to beset Crashaw in his attempts to adapt the language of erotic love to a religious purpose.

---

[56] OLD, II (Oxford, 1976), p. 1806, examples can be found in Horace Odes 4,2, l. 29, and Propertius Book 3, 17, l. 40.

[57] Ghiselinus comments: "vivida haec et venusta appositio", in Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, Opera (Antwerp 1564), II, C8$^{b}$.

Section Two: The Language of Wounds

In Hymn X, Prudentius had shown that an apparently dumb victim could be made to speak, through heavenly intervention. Through being wounded and suffering excruciating agony, Romanus is able to acquire a miraculous new language. Throughout the Peristephanon wounding is connected with the production of language, and it appears that wounds may even be more potent than words as a way of communicating with God.

At the end of Hymn X, an angel is depicted, creating a heavenly record of a martyr's deeds, which concentrates in great details on the wounds he received.

> excepit adstans angelus coram Deo
> et quae locutus martyr et quae pertulit,
> nec verba solum disserentis condidit,
> sed ipsa pingens vulnera expressit stylo
> laterum, genarum pectisque et faucium.
> omnis notata est sanguinis dimensio,
> ut quam que plagam sulcus exaravit,
> altam, patentem, proximam, longam, brevem.
> quae vis doloris, quive segmenti modus;
> guttam cruoris ille nullam perdidit.
>
> (ll. 1121-30)

> An angel standing in the presence of God, took down all that the martyr said and all he bore, and not only recorded the words of his discourse, but with his pen drew exact pictures of the wound on his sides and cheek and breast and throat. The measure of blood from each was noted, and how, in each case the gash ploughed out the wound, whether deep or wide or on the surface, long or short, the extent of the pain, the violence of the cut; no drop of blood did he let go for nought.

The martyr's words are of secondary value to the details of his suffering. The mouths of the wounds are more eloquent than the human language, as the words of both martyr and poet are surpassed by the statistical activities of a kind of heavenly clerk. Yet this creates not so much as sense of transcending the human realm, but of

God indulging in a kind of one-upmanship. As Georgius Fabricius remarks, it is impossible for a human to undertake such a huge task: "Quod fieri arte aut diligentia humana, in corpore tantopere lacerto non potest." (It would be impossible for this to happen through human skill or diligence since we would lack bodily strength [to record all the wounds]).[58] The earlier vision of a God, who will aid the writer's dumbness, has disappeared by the end of the poem. Prudentius' anxiety about the place and efficacy of poetry in a Christian context is betrayed by this ending. It will be from this factual record that he imagines being judged, and if God relies upon cold evidence, what place does poetry have in Christian salvation? Prudentius' great apologia for Christianity ends without an answer to this besetting problem.

It seems as if the only language which impresses God is that of the wounded themselves. In each description of martyrdom, the "hero" engages in a verbal, as well as physical, defence of their faith. It is the martyrs' words, almost more than their Christian observance, which seem to spur on the oppressors to further cruelty. The prosecutor says, as a prelude to the excision of Romanus' tongue, "Ipsa et loquentis verba torqueri volo." ("I will have the very words tortured as he speaks").[59] This demonstrates that words can be the wounded victim's way of avenging himself on his persecutor. The passive sufferer can, through speech, fight back. The prosecutor in Hymn V seems to endure the same physical suffering that his victim undergoes, but his suffering is caused by the martyr's words:[60]

---

[58] Aurelii Prudenti Clementis V.C. Opera (1613), II, p. 388.

[59] Hymn X, l. 555.

[60] The reaction of the prefect may also have been an influence on Marino's portrayal of Herod, which Crashaw translates in stanza 61 of "Sospetto D'Herode".

His persecutor saucius
pallet, rubescit, aestuat
insana torquens lumina,
spumasque frendens egerit.
(ll. 201-4)

Stricken with these words the prosecutor first turns pale, then red and in the heat of his passion rolls his eyes frantically this way and that, gnashing his teeth and foaming at the mouth.

The power of words is exemplified here. The Roman oppressors are portrayed as being, to a man, infuriated that a captive in their power should have so little fear and so much to say for himself. Yet the word is the only violent act the martyrs will commit against another person, and they use the same language like a gun turned to their own heads, which impells them inevitably towards their own death. Romanus, in Hymn X, reacts to his wounding in this way:

"grates tibi, o praefecte, magnas debeo,
quod multa pandens ora iam christum loquor.
artabat ampli nominis praeconum
meatus unus, impar ad laudes Dei.
rimas patentes invenit vox edita
multisque fusa rictibus reddit sonos
hic inde plures et profatur undique
Christi Patrisque sempiternam gloriam.
tot ecce laudant ora quot sunt vulnera."
(ll. 562-70)

"Much thanks I owe you sir, because now I open many mouths to speak of Christ. The single passage used to restrict the passage of his mighty name; it was too little for the praises of God. But now the voice I utter finds open fissures; issuing by many a wide-open mouth, it delivers more sound on this side and on that, all ways proclaiming the everlasting glory of Christ and the Father. For every wound I have you see a mouth uttering praise."

Wounds are envisaged as a new opportunity for speech, and more specifically for worship. Several martyrs are portrayed as speaking in defence of their faith while undergoing torture, and are not silenced by pain. Here the idea becomes a physical reality. In his commentary on this passage, Fabricius asserts that Romanus is able to

speak, and ignore the pain of his wounds because of his miraculous faith:

> Plagas Tyranni non sensit, & plagas corporis non curat, dum animus ad Deum erectus est. ... In paenam (sic) martyr gaudet, in cruciatu exultat poenam enim novit esse caussam praeconii, & mortem credit initium esse vitae sanctionis.[61]
>
> He does not feel the wounds the Tyrant inflicts, and he does not care about his wounded body, while his mind is raised to God. ... The martyr glories in the punishment, and he rejoices in torture, because he knows that the punishment is a reason for celebration, and he believes that death is the entrance to a holy life.

Wounds are mouths, and suffering multiplies a Martyrs' ability to speak.

Wounding may also be conceived as a kind of writing, in which the martyr becomes the text which God composes. In Hymn IX Cassian is martyred by being written upon by the boys whom he had taught to write. His wounds are literally and metaphorically inscribed on his body, as he is stabbed to death with the sharp styluses used for writing on wax tablets. Eulalia's Martyrdom makes the link even more explicit. She anticipates the fact that her death makes her part of Prudentius' text by declaring herself a record of worship, through her pain:

> scriberis ecce mihi, Domine.
> quam iuvat hos apices legere
> qui tua, Christi, tropaea notant!
> numen et ipsa sacrum loquitur
> purpurea sanguis eliciti.
>
> (ll. 136-40)
>
> "See, Lord," she says, "thy name is being written on me. How I love to read these letters, for they record thy victories, O Christ, and the very scarlet of the blood that is drawn speaks the Holy name."

Prudentius uses "purpureus" to describe the colour of her blood, a word which is used in classical Latin to describe the imperial colour. In this case Prudentius seems

---

[61] Aurelii Prudenti Clementis V.C. Opera (1613), II, pp. 563-4.

to be harnessing the word's previous connotations of absolute power to emphasise how potent such a shedding of blood makes the martyr. Even in defeat her blood spells out the language of triumph. As with all the martyrs, she may be doomed to die, but her words are more important than her physical suffering; the body is mutilated, but language cannot be defeated.

It would seem then, that in the struggles of Prudentius' poems, the new and more complex Christian language attempts to overcome the language of the persecutor. His martyrs speak the language of the oppressors, but alter the traditions of classical discourse. As a result their persecutors are baffled by the subversion of their own language. The new discourse adapts the language of a previous system of secular values and beliefs to a new sacred one. Yet, as Ovid had discovered, it is almost impossible for any writer to suppress the connotations of the original idiom, from which his discourse is developed. Even when a Christian discourse is forged from the resource of classical writing, tensions between the two still persist. Although he uses the language of classical poets in a new context, the imperial vehicle contaminates or qualifies the Christian tenor of the writing. His own Christian discourse has not broken away from its model, and at times he participates, somewhat uneasily, in both traditions.

An investigation of the Peristephanon provides an important preliminary to a study of Crashaw's poems, not only because of its subject matter, but because of the way in which Prudentius attempts to construct a Christian language, one that is intimately associated with wounding. We cannot, of course, be sure what Crashaw thought of Prudentius' poetry. But by including some of the opinions of some Renaissance commentators, I have tried to suggest that an educated seventeenth century reader would have noticed many of the features of Prudentius' language and

style discussed in this chapter. Nebrissiensis noted how Roman language was adapted for a Christian purpose,[62] and this process of "translating" one form of language into a different type of discourse was to prove central to Crashaw's poetry. Like both Prudentius and Ovid, Crashaw develops a discourse of religious love which is seen as superior to its erotic model, but, like them, he adapts, rather than discards, the tropes of the original.

Prudentius shows none of the confidence in poetic immortality of earlier classical poets such as Ovid. Although Ovid was willing to become the victim of love himself, Prudentius chooses instead to rely on the subjects of his poems, not the writing itself, to provide his salvation. It is obvious to Prudentius that the martyrs who bore witness to God through public suffering achieved a glorious triumph of faith. He seems less sure that his task in writing about their fate is nearly so important or glorious. Even while he celebrates the power and complexity of Christian speech in the mouths of the martyrs, his role as a poet is in doubt.

Crashaw was also to search for an appropriate language in which to express his love for God. Like Prudentius, he finds the process difficult, and seems to lack confidence that his own poetic endeavours could match those of a heavenly creator. Prudentius concludes that the martyrs attain the love of God because of their suffering. Through suffering they gain a miraculous fluency in speech, and the poet prays to them as a muse for his own poetic creation of language. Crashaw also celebrates those who, like the Virgin Mary, or St. Teresa endure suffering, but are united with God through their pain. He not only looks to these women, and to the suffering Christ as sources of poetic inspiration, but wishes to share their pain, so

---

[62] See discussion of Hymn I, above.

that he may know God's love. This is a step which even Prudentius does not take. As I shall show below, Crashaw concludes that he must aspire to such spiritual suffering, because wounding and pain are, for him, the most eloquent form of language.

## Chapter Three: "Of Names and Words": Crashaw's Language and Religious Love

Having explored the methods by which Prudentius attempted to develop a sacred language, in this chapter I will discuss Crashaw's own strategy for the development of a discourse of religious love. I shall begin with a discussion of his earliest published poetry, the Epigrammata Sacra,[1] and the way in which Crashaw adapted classical erotic poetry to a Christian purpose. I shall end the chapter by showing how he applied the methods which he had developed in Latin poetry to his later writing in English.

The Epigrammata Sacra are relatively neglected by critics, or at best damned with faint praise. For example, Patrides gives this account of them: "Crashaw's efforts are in fact mostly exercises laboriously bent after a pre-determined effect; and so far one would not have wished them to be more numerous than they are."[2] Laurens and Balavoine, are among the few who praise them. They call the book, "une réussite incontesible, où se réconcilent la doctrine et le sentiment, l'esprit et la poésie."[3] Crashaw's seventeenth century contemporaries clearly valued them highly, both Holdsworth and Barnes include them in lists of recommended reading for undergraduates.[4]

---

[1] They were first published in 1634. Quotations of the epigrams throughout are from The Complete Poetry of Richard Crashaw, ed. George Walton Williams, (New York, 1972).

[2] C.A. Patrides, "Richard Crashaw: The Merging of Contrarieties," in his Figures in a Renaissance Context, eds. Claude J. Summers, and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1989), pp. 141-60, (pp. 144-5).

[3] Laurens and Balavoine II, p. 494.

[4] Richard Holdsworth, "Directions for a Student in the Universitie," Emmanuel College Ms. 1.2.27, (1), and Joshua Barnes, Emmanuel College MS. III.1.11. no. 173. Cited in Thomas F. Healy, Richard Crashaw (Leiden, 1986) p.

The opening poem, "Lectori" or "to the reader", is often passed over as an unimportant dedicatory poem. However far from being the unimportant preliminary which its critical neglect would suggest, I shall argue that it is of vital importance to any understanding of Crashaw's religious writing.

At first sight the layout of "Lectori" itself would have suggested to his audience that they were about to read an erotic poem. The elegiac couplet was the metre used by the Latin erotic elegists Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid. Thus from the first, Crashaw associates himself with secular erotic writing. Yet he is at pains immediately to distance himself from it:

> Salve. Jamque vale. Quid enim quis pergeret ultra?
> Qua jocus & lusus non vocat, ire voles?
> Scilicet hic, Lector, cur nostra habere, non est;
> Delitiis folio non faciente tuis.
> Nam nec Acidalios halat mihi pagina rores;
> Nostra Cupidineae nec favet aura faci.
> Frustra hinc ille suis quicquam promiserit alis:
> Frustra hinc illa novo spetet abire sinu.
> (Lectori, ll. 1-8 )

> Hail. And now farewell. For why would anyone go any further? Will you go where playful joking does not call? Obviously reader this is not the reason you will be ours; this book does not aim at your pleasure. For neither does this page breath out Acidalian dews, nor does our breath favour Cupid's torch. In vain will he [Cupid] have promised his wings anything from this: in vain may she [Venus] hope to depart with a new heart from here.

He is playing with the expectations that a reader used to Classical Latin poetry may have. The opening lines are full of vocabulary redolent of the densely allusive language of the Classical Latin Elegists, like *"iocus"*, *"Lusus"*, *"Delitiis"* and the later reference in line 26 to *"salax"* or saltiness, meaning wit.[5] But as Revard notes

58.

[5] See Francis Cairns, Tibullus (Cambridge, 1979), chapter nine, and R.O.A.M. Lyne, "The Neoteric poets," C Q, 28 (1978), 167-87.

the influence of Callimachus and classical poetry is not found so much in examples of specific borrowing but is "a matter of attitude".[6] This is very much "insiders'" poetry: he expects the reader to know who "he" and "she" are in lines 7-8, and the full effect of what is to happen in the poem relies on the recognition of such language. However, it is obvious that he is specifically denying any erotic intent. From the outset, Crashaw plays with our expectations by emphasising the tension between what we know of these words' usual signification in an erotic context, and the meaning which they must take on in this instance.

Throughout the opening section of the poem he associates himself with the classical past. The text is full of allusions to mythological figures associated with love, from Cupid, Venus and her lover Adonis, to Circe, the enchantress who seduced Odysseus. Ovid is suggested by the succession of female exempla in lines 31ff.[7] In the remainder of the poem Crashaw attempts to discover how he may produce a new, sacred, "Book of Loves".

Crashaw deliberately recalls Ovid's Amores, which open with the refusal of one type of poetry for another in I,1. The poet claims to have been trying to write epic, until side-tracked by Cupid. Crashaw portrays Cupid attempting a similar attack on him, but he, unlike Ovid, refuses:

> Saepe puer dubias circum me moverat alas;
> Jecit et incertas nostra sub ora faces.
> Saepe vel ipsa sua calamum mihi blandus ab ala,
> Vel matris cygno de meliore dedit.
> Saepe Dionaeae pactus mihi serta coronae;

---

[6] Stella P. Revard, "The Seventeenth Century Religious Ode and its Classical Models," in Bright Shootes of Everlastingnesse, ed. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia, 1987), pp. 173-191, (p. 187).

[7] See Amores II,12 and discussion in chapter one.

Saepe, Meus vates tu, mihi dixit, eris.
I procul, i cum, matre tua, puer improbe, dixi:
Non tibi cum numeris res erit ulla meis.

(ll. 43-50)

Often the boy moved his fluttering wings around me and hurled his unpredictable darts around my face. Often that flatterer gave me a quill from his own wing or a better one from his mother's swan. Often he promised me garlands from the Dionaean crown; often he said to me "You will be my poet". But I said, "Go far off, go with your mother wicked boy, there's nothing for you in my verse."

Line 48 obviously recalls Cupids triumphant shout, as he snares Ovid:

Lanavitque genu sinuosum fortiter arcum
"quod" que "Canas, vates, accipe" dixit "opus".
(Amores I,1 ll. 25-6)

And bent his sinewy bow upon his knee,
Saying, "Poet, here's a work beseeming thee."

Ovid gives in without much more than token resistance, whereas the repetition of "Saepe" in Crashaw's text shows that his has been a protracted struggle to resist Cupid's advances. He is, then, placing himself in a position which is directly comparable to the most famous of erotic poets. He shows that his development as a religious poet stems from a refusal of such temptation. But by making the situation and language so close to that of Ovid's poem, he shows very clearly the origins of his own poetry. Even his refusal of Cupid is expressed in the sort of language which Roman priests used to warn the unholy away from a sacrifice, but which Horace uses to assert his sacred mission as a poet of love.[8] The eminently serious refusal of salaciousness in Crashaw also reminds us of Ovid's, surely ironic, statement in Amores I,3:

et nulli cessera fides, sine crimine mores,
nudaque simplicitas, purpureus pudor
(ll. 13-14)

---

[8] Horace, Odes, Book 3, I, ll. 1-4.

My spotless life, which but to gods gives place,
Naked simplicity, and modest grace.

Once again it is clear that this newly formed discourse is almost inevitably, still implicated in the old erotic conventions. Although Crashaw attempts to retreat from eroticism, the vocabulary that he uses still retains its salacious connotations .

After his denial of eroticism, Crashaw turns a poem which has so far defined itself only by negatives to a positive aim. In line 57 he changes the direction of the poem so delicately that it may almost pass unnoticed:

Gleba illa (ah tua quam tamen urit adultera messis)
  Esset Idumaeo germine quanta parens!
Quantus ibi & quantae premeret puer ubera matris!
  Nec caelos vultu dissimulante suos.
Ejus in isto oculi satis essent sydera versu;
  Sydereo matris quam bene tua sinu!
(ll. 57-62)

That soil (ah how your adulterous harvest still burns) would have been greatly productive with the seed of Idumaea! How great a boy would there press the breasts of how great a mother! And with a face not concealing his own heavens. In that verse his eyes would be stars enough; how very safe in his mother's starry embrace.

Here both the vocabulary and the sense of the passage show how he is attempting to create a form of writing by reaction to another. Christ and Mary appear in the text by growing out of what are seen to be their direct predecessors. As Larsen notes,[9] they are direct analogues of Venus and Cupid.

This development was not unique to Crashaw, and was in some ways another indication to the reader of the kind of poetry they were about to read. Revard, as part of her discussion of how the traditions of Neo-Latin affect

---

[9] Kenneth Larsen, "Richard Crashaw's *Epigrammata Sacra*," in The Latin Poetry of English Poets, ed. J.W. Binns (London and Boston, 1974), pp. 93-120, (p. 118).

Crashaw's poetry, notes that Venus and The Virgin share some of the same iconography in the poetry of, for example, Giovanni Pontano, Petrus Crinitus and Bernardo Tasso.[10] The Jesuit poet Vaenius also uses a similar technique, as Warren and Bennett note.[11] In Vaenius' Amoris Divini Emblemata, divine love is represented as a child who wears both a halo, and Cupid's bow and quiver.[12] Jesuit epigrammatists such as Vaenius were also trying to create a poetic of sacred love which was capable of comparison with, or even to be pitted against, the Latin erotic poetry from which it had developed.[13]

In Crashaw's poem, even Jerusalem appears in the allusive disguise of Idumaea, and the word used to describe Mary's embrace of her son is "sinu", which has already been used in a sexual sense in line 8. Religious subject matter enters this text through erotic language. Even after a specific disavowal of erotic poetry, Cupid returns, despite protest, to usher in some highly charged description of the sort of writing he should preside over, in lines 75ff. The threat of Cupid and his mother can only be banished by taking a further step of actually turning them into the Virgin and Child:

> Cede puer (dixi, & dico) cede improba mater:
> Altera Cupris habet nos; habet alter Amor.
> Scilicet hic Amor est. Hic est quoque mater Amoris.

---

[10] Revard, "Crashaw and the Diva," pp. 80-99.

[11] Warren, Crashaw, p. 71, J.A.W. Bennett, "Recusants and Hymnodists," in his Poetry of the Passion (Oxford, 1982), pp. 168-189, (p. 175)

[12] Vaenius, Amoris Divini Emblemata (Antwerp, 1660), p. 11, (first published in 1615).

[13] For evidence of Jesuit influence on Crashaw, see Austin Warren, "Crashaw's *Epigrammata Sacra*," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 33 (1934), 233-39, Ruth Wallerstein, Richard Crashaw (Madison, Wisc., 1935), pp. 58-62, Praz, Flaming Heart, pp. 217-8, and Raspa, Emotive Image, p.54.

Sed mater virgo. Sed neque caecus Amor.
(ll. 83-6)

Surrender boy, [Cupid] (I said, and still say), surrender shameful mother; another Venus holds me, and another love. It is obvious that this is love, and that this is the love's mother. But the mother is a virgin, and this love is not blind.

The reader is challenged to suspend any preconceptions about sacred and secular language, as The Blessed (and sinless) Virgin is equated with the goddess of specifically sexual love. The same word, "Puer", is used to mean both Cupid and Christ and "Amor", as love signifies both the old love and the new. The transition between the old and new is made so easily that the reader hardly notices the slippage in signification. Here Crashaw is using the same technique which Prudentius employed when he used the same pronoun, "ipse", to signify both the writer and Christ.[14] Crashaw describes representatives of another love, but still uses the classical conventions of his model. The Christ child is a direct equivalent of Cupid: he even borrows his darts, and is asked to use them on the poet:

O Amor, innocuae cui sunt pia iura pharetrae;
Nec nisi de casto corde sagitta calens!
Me, puer, o certa, quem figis, fige sagitta.
O tua de me sit facta pharetra levis.
....
Fige, puer, corda haec. Seu spinis exiguus quis,
Seu clavi aut hastae cuspide magnus ades;
Seu maior cruce cum tota; seu maximus ipso
te corda haec figis denique. Fige puer.
[ll. 89-92, 95-8]

Oh love who possesses the sacred laws of a harmless quiver, and an arrow that only ignites a chaste heart. Oh boy, [Christ], pierce me whom you pierce with your well-aimed arrow. Oh may your quiver become light because of me.

Pierce this heart, boy, you are present very little in those thorns, more in the sharp point of a spear or nail, even more in the whole of the cross, most of all you transfix this heart with your very presence,

---

[14] See Hymn X, ll. 20-4, and discussion in chapter two.

pierce boy.

The image is initially modeled on Ovid's request to Cupid in Amores II, 9, in which he casts himself as a victim of love.

> Fige, puer: positis nudus tibi praebeor armis;
> hic tibi sunt vires, hic tua dextra facit,
> (ll. 35-6)

> Strike boy, I offer thee my naked breast,
> Here thou hast strength, here thy right hand doth rest

This shows that by using Cupid as the model from which Christ develops Crashaw is attempting to do much more than merely produce a polar opposite. Though he rejects the salacious purpose of Cupid's arrows he creates Christ in Cupid's image. In the later poetry, Crashaw was repeatedly to use images of ecstatic piercing. Yet the obvious influence of Ovid on "Lectori", suggests that the images of ecstatic piercing, so prevalent in the later poetry may derive less from St. Teresa's vision than Ovid's evocation of Cupid's dart. The newly sacred boy is asked to pierce the speaker with "pharetra" and "sagitta", weapons from Cupid's hitherto exclusive armoury, until the missiles merge with the crucifying "spinis" and "hasta". Even the violent images of piercing in lines 99ff. derive from the erotic convention of *Militia Amoris*[15] rather than the Church Militant:

> Ah durus! quicunque meos, nisi siccus, amores
> Nolit; & hic lacrymae rem neget esse suae.
> (ll. 119-120)

> Oh cruel, whoever rejects my love unless dry-eyed, let him deny
> there is a cause for his tears.

This complaint may be directed at an unresponsive reader, but it carries the force of the rejected lover in Latin Elegy. Scaliger observes that the essential elements of

---

[15] See discussion in chapter one.

Elegy include: "Querela, expositio, preces, vota, fletus ianuae ianitori".[16] The object of the poet's entreaty shifts from Cupid, the instigator of love, to Christ, its object, to the reader, who is asked to participate in both love and worship through poetry.

"Lectori", then, provides an insight into the way Crashaw adapts erotic discourse to produce a "discourse centred in Heaven", as the editor of Steps to the Temple was to call it. Prudentius had used the language of those who tortured the martyrs, but adapted its conventions to create a Christian language in which to celebrate the martyrs' victory. Yet it is clear how much Prudentius' language is still influenced by the earlier traditions of Latin poetry. Crashaw also adapts the tropes of Latin erotic poetry, but his writing also demonstrates how much continuity there is between secular erotic poetry, and his language of love for God. "Lectori" stresses how closely related the two types of love are. He uses erotic poetry as a linguistic resource for his own discourse, while still relating it to its origins.

Crashaw wrote the Epigrammata Sacra as weekly exercises based on passages of the Bible, while an undergraduate as part of his Watts Scholarship.[17] They are full of the tropes and conventions of erotic love for which "Lectori" prepares us. In these poems Crashaw attempts to discover a language to express his intense devotion for God from the conventions of earthly love.

Throughout the epigrams which follow "Lectori", the genealogy of this

---

[16] Julius Caesar Scaliger, Poetices Libri Septem (Lyons, 1561), p. 169. col. 2. For modern discussion of of the excluded lover as a convention, see Francis Cairns, Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry (Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 6 and 76, and Gordon Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry (Oxford, 1968), pp. 546-8.

[17] See Healy, Richard Crashaw, p. 57.

sacred form of love is made clear. In the epigram on John 4, "Rogavit eum ut descenderet", the love of Christ is seen as the power which heals the child:

> Ille ut eat tecum , in natique, tuique salutem?
> Qui petis; ah nescis (credo) quod Ales Amor.
> (ll. 1-2)
>
> You ask that he whom you seek should go with you, for your son's health? Ah I believe you do not know that love is winged.

Wings are used here to indicate speed, but they have been borrowed from the classical image of Cupid. In "Non Nudus Amor" the several connotations of the word "Nudus" are used to effect the transition between classical erotic discourse and "discourse centred in Heaven":

> Falleris. & nudum male ponis (Pictor) Amorem:
> Non nudum facis hanc, cum sine veste facis.
>
> Non hic est (dum sic digito patet ille fideli)
> Tunc, cum vestitus, tunc quoque nudus amor?
> (ll. 1-4)
>
> You are mistaken painter, and you wrongly depict Love naked. You do not show him unadorned only by painting him without clothes.
>
> Is is not that, (while He [Christ] reveals himself at the fingertips of a faithful person) He is then, despite clothing, undisguised love.

The literal meaning of "nudus", "naked", facilitates a reference back to the image of the naked putto, Cupid, while the figurative sense of "unadorned", and thus true and honest, allows the shift into a "discourse centred in Heaven". Crashaw exploits the space between the stanzas as a way of inscribing in typographical layout the gap between the two types of love. The contrast between the upper case letter used for the name of love in the first stanza, and lower case in the second, though conceivably a compositorial error, is also important. Classical Amor is love and only love, and thus a deity with limited influence. Christ may exemplify love, but his power as a deity need not only be predicated on this one quality.

In "Non fugitivus Amor" the Virgin is presented as a woman bereft of her lover. The speaker assures her that he will return (this is based on the story of Christ addressing the doctors in the temple), but this assurance is expressed in highly erotic terms:

> Quippe illis quae labra genis magis apta putentur?
> Quaeve per id collum dignior ire manus?
>
> His sibi quid speret puer ambitiosus ulnis
> Quove sub amplexu dulcius esse queat?
>
> O quae teneram sibi vitis amicior ulmum
> implicet alternis nexibus immoriens?
> (ll. 5-10)

> Indeed what lips may be considered more suitable for those cheeks? Or what hand more worthy to go round his neck. What would the boy desire for himself more eagerly than those arms? Or in what embrace could he be more sweetly? O what vine more loving binds itself to the tender elm, dying in each other's embraces.

The third couplet of this passage makes the implicit sexual image highly explicit, as the image of the twining vine was often used in Latin, and indeed Renaissance, poetry to describe sexual intercourse and marriage.[18] Yet Crashaw seems to be using such heightened language to stress the importance and closeness of the bond between the two. He insists that this love is much more than that of two lovers. Through a thorough investigation of the erotic idea of the deserted lover in the preceding lines of the poem, he is able to imagine a love which transcends the limitations of human relationships, and is no "fugitivus amor".

"In Cicatrices Domini" uses the classical trope of lover as soldier. Again, there is a gradual shift from the classical certainty of *Amor*, (Cupid) with his erotic

---

[18] For example Herrick "The Vine", ll. 9-11 in The Poems of Robert Herrick, ed. L.C. Martin (London, 1965), or Crashaw's own use in "Epithalamium" ll. 109-10.

weaponry to the Christian deity. This shift occurs again in the gap between the first and second stanzas:

> Arma vides; arcus, pharetramque, levesque saggitas,
> Et quocunque fuit nomine miles Amor.
>
> His fuit usus Amor: sed & haec fuit ipse; suumque
> Et jaculum, & jaculis ipse pharetrae suis.
>
> (ll. 1-4)

> You see the weapons, the bow, quiver and the light arrows, and by whatever name, this soldier was Love.
>
> Love used these things, but he also was these things himself, he was both dart and the quiver for his own darts.

It is left to the reader to assume that the second Amor connotes Christ. Gradually we are made aware that the scene is that of the crucifixion, not through specific information but by the hints the text provides. Prudentius' changing of the significance of "aurum" had depended on his readers' knowlege of biblical parables about riches.[19] In this epigram, the reader is expected to use their knowledge of the Bible to decode the poem's language. In Crashaw's poem, however, the process is even more complex than that of Prudentius' Hymn, since Crashaw alters the significance of three words, rather than one. The change from the influence of the vestigial imprint of Ovid to that of the gospels is achieved by a gradual slippage in the meaning of the words "Love", "soldier" and "weapons". *"Amor"* at first denotes Cupid, then, still by implication, Christ. By stanza four it becomes the abstract quality of "caritas".[20] *"Miles"* is at first the legendary Cupid with his bow. The weapons are then transformed into the armaments of a new, self wounding love, whom we suspect to be Christ. They are then taken up by an unidentified

---

[19] See Hymn II, ll. 113-116.

[20] For St. Paul's exposition of this, see I Corinthians, Chapter 13.

"Anger", which is more clearly identifiable as the signification of *"Miles"* shifts to that of a human soldier. Crashaw makes us surmise from clues that this is intended to be a Roman guard at Calvary. In stanza six the soldier could still be a Vergilian hero like Turnus, and while the victim of the attack is Christ, he is still a very Roman hero. The situation is made more certain by the seventh stanza, when the weaponry is now signified by biblical rather than erotic vocabulary:

> Seu digito suadente tuo *mala Laurus* inibat
> Temporibus; sacrum seu bibit hasta latus:
>
> (ll. 13-14)

> Whether, with your finger's persuasion, the evil laurel Wreath entered his forehead, or the spear drank from his holy side.

The spear in the side confirms the Crucifixion is the location of this poem. However, the Crown of thorns is still described by Classical vocabulary.[21] Christ, the Aeneas-like hero, becomes the Triumphator, crowned with a laurel. Yet, as the preceding stanzas have made clear, his victory coexists with being conquered. Ovid had explored the way in which a lover must be defeated and paraded as Love's captive, before he could experience love. Prudentius used the triumph image to indicate that apparently conquered martyrs achived a glorious victory and access to God's love. Here Crashaw applies the image to the crucifixion, and suggests that the resurrection can be understood as a triumph, with the apparently defeated Christ as a victorious general.

Love's classical erotic ancestry is indicated in "In Mulierum Canaanaeum", which also uses the erotic convention of "Militia Amoris". The whole epigram is

---

[21] Vida employs very similar vocabulary in his description of Christ's torments before the Crucifixion. Marco Girolamo Vida, The Christiad, ed. and trans. Gertrude C. Drake, and Clarence A. Forbes (London and Amsterdam, 1978), Book 5, ll. 372-9.

built around the trope of a lover wearing down an unwilling beloved, and the struggle between them is described by the extended metaphor of a battle. This time, however, it is the woman who is seen as the seducer, and the man who is the object of the assault, although it is seemingly only verbal in nature:

> Quas patitur, facit ille manus. ictu ille sub omni est;
> Atque in te vires sentit, amatque suas,
> (ll. 5-6)
>
> he makes his own strength, from which he suffers, he is beneath every blow. He feels his strength in you and he loves it.

Wallerstein sees Crashaw's epigrams as an adaptation of Ovidian themes to biblical subjects,[22] and this indeed is a strange mutation of the Ovidian assertion that women enjoy sexual violence.[23] In the last two stanzas we then see how the suffering of the crucifixion is foreshadowed as Christ is envisaged as a soldier: "Qui, tantum ut vinci possit, in arma venit", (Who comes to fight only so that he can be defeated). This expresses the idea that Christ's love must inevitably lead to his defeat and death. Crashaw uses the paradox, a rhetorical figure so essential to the epigram, to disturbing effect here.[24] Such a paradox emerges not only from the relatively light-hearted conceit of *Militia Amoris*, but also from the darkening of the image to forshadow the pain of the crucifixion.

It may appear disturbing that Crashaw seems attracted to an erotic convention which, in however stylised a form, conflates violence and love. Yet in my discussion of Ovid's poetry, I demonstrated that even a poet better known for

---

[22] Wallerstein, pp. 60-3.

[23] Ovid, Ars Amatoria I, 270ff.

[24] See Walter T. Davis, "The Meditative Hymnody of Richard Crashaw," ELH, 50 (1983), 107-131, (p. 123).

his salacious, but light-hearted poetry exploited the darker elements of the trope. Ovid exploited the undercurrent of violence inherent in the image of Cupid's bow and arrows, and Crashaw was to do the same with his deity of love. Thus the coexistence of love and violence Crashaw's text is directly influenced by his classical model.

Crashaw continued to use Classical conventions in his later, English, poetry. In his Latin epigrams, he had developed a method of adapting secular erotic language to a sacred purpose. I shall end this chapter with a discussion of this process in two of his English poems, "On Mr Herbert's Book", and "On a Prayer Book sent to Mrs M.R.".

In "On Mr Herbert's Book", his use of erotic language is immediately obvious. Initially, the book almost seems to be recommended to the woman as an engaging romance,[25] as the religious nature of the work is hidden by ambiguous language until line four.

> Know you faire, on what you looke;
> Divinest love lyes in this booke:
> Expecting fire from your eyes,
> to kindle this his sacrifice.
>
> (ll. 1-4)

As in "Lectori", the vocabulary is erotically allusive thoughout the poem. Phrases like "morning sigh", "balmy air", "the shrine\ of your white hand" are redolent of erotic writing. These are in tension with religious language, like "sacrifice", "Angel", "Prayer", "devotion". The developing language emerges almost by

---

[25] Helen Wilcox has shown that soon after The Temple was published it had already become a recommended devotional text to be read along with the Bible in "'Heaven's Lidger Here': Herbert's Temple and Seventeenth Century Devotion," in Images of Belief in Literature ed. David Jasper (London, 1984), pp. 153-168. (p.153.)

competing with the discourse of love with which it coexists.

Crashaw emphasises that the co-operation of the reader as an interpreter of the text is vital. Crashaw offers it to the woman as an aid to her own devotion and is confident that "these white plumes of his heele lend you/Which every day to Heaven will send you."[26] This very confidence it is implied comes from Crashaw's own experience of reading the book.

It is the role of the reader to act as the arbitrator between the two registers of language. If she is able to create a balance between the two discourses, then the interaction of the two will re-animate the love inherent in the waiting text. As both "Lectori" and "In Cicatrices" show, Crashaw expects the reader to use his/her knowledge of both Classical erotic poetry and the Bible to de-code the text. The interaction of reader and text will re-animate the emotions of love and consideration of Christ's sacrifice inherent in the waiting text. It is as if a kind of literary consubstantiation takes place on reading, as love is latent within it, waiting to be released by the reader.

"On a Prayer Booke Sent to Mrs. M.R." is again on the theme of a sacred book and a female recipient. This time the book is introduced first, but immediately the tension of sacred and Classical is apparent:

> Loe here a little volume, but large booke,
> (Feare it not, sweet,
> It is no hipocrit)
> Much larger in it selfe then in its looke.
> (ll. 1-4)

---

[26] "On Mr Herbert's book", l. 11-12.

This is reminiscent of the opening of Catullus I, which stesses the poet's need to express his ideas within a small poetic space. Indeed the witticism of "heaven and all/Heavens royall Hoasts incampt, thus small" is the seventeenth century poet's equivalent of:

> iam tum, cum ausus es unus Italorum
> omne aeuum tribus explicare cartis
> (ll. 5-6)
>
> ...in the days when you alone in Italy were daring to compress the whole history of the world into three volumes of a single book.

This use of allusion allows Crashaw to make his point about the value of this book while still retaining the lightness of tone suggestive of a playful love lyric. He aligns a Christian view of history with Classical poetics. Thus pre-Christian aesthetics are applied to the liturgy of the Christian church. He also alludes to contemporary politics. The particular resonance of "royall hoasts incampt" would not have been lost on Crashaw's original, 1646 readership. By 1646, both the royalist and parliamentary forces had been in the field for nearly four years.

At this stage, the language is full of Classical allusions. A shift of signification in which the poem's language moves from Classical eroticism to Christian love begins in stanzas 3-5. The procedure by which this is achieved is strikingly similar to the one which I have demonstrated in "Lectori". Initially, the language of *Militia Amoris* dominates, with the sauciness of the encampment of "loves great Artillery....in [her] white bosom". Yet the language begins to change. From the erotic "white bosom", it moves to her "chast heart". *Militia Amoris* now becomes the Church Militant with its "Armory of light", which no longer mounts a playful attack, but becomes a powerful weapon of defence against the dangers of sin and hell. By stanza 5 the erotic vocabulary may still be present: "Those of turtles

chast and true". But the gradual change of tone has left the erotic language, like the woman, beleaguered and in need of defence, as the erotic language has been gradually subsumed into a religious discourse. As the tone grows more threatening he challenges the young woman to respond to the demands of religious commitment.

In his attempt to persuade the young woman to love Christ Crashaw uses the biblical parable of the wise virgins. At first he uses the secular trappings of earthly marriage as a persuasive tool. He tempts her with pretty clothes, and promises in exchange for her goodness a kind of spiritual wedding dress and bouquet for a heavenly wedding to "the spouse of Virgins, and the Virgins son". He even tries to provoke her jealousy and rivalry with other woman, a tactic employed by many erotic poets, including Ovid.[27]

> Doubtles some other heart
> Will git the start,
> And stepping in before,
> Will take possession of the sacred store
> (ll. 54-8)

Yet this is not merely a frivolous use of erotic language, but part of the inter-relationship of erotic discourse with sacred language, which develops throughout the poem. Christ and Mary, in "Lectori", evolve directly from their classical models, Venus and Cupid, and in this poem Crashaw moves from classical to biblical eroticism as a model for his language. He uses the parable of the wise virgins as a kind of Christian justification for his methodology.[28] The effect of Christ's teaching

---

[27] Amores, II, 7 and II, 8.

[28] For discussion of the way in which Crashaw uses spiritual authority as a justification for his language, see Thomas F. Healy, "Crashaw and the Sense of History," in Roberts, New Perspectives, pp. 49-65, (p. 58).

in parables was gained by the move from a familiar earthly example to the Christian lesson of the story. In order to make an abstract idea or value comprehensible a familiar analogue was used. Thus Christ warns his followers to always be ready for the coming of God's kingdom by the example of women who are ready to welcome a bridegroom.

This parable is particularly apt for Crashaw's use. He needs to examine and explicate a highly complex and abstract idea: that is the relationship of love between God and humanity. To do this he uses a familiar human analogue, that of earthly sexual love. Crashaw's own poetic methodology is thus "sanctioned" by the similarity of his and Christ's mode of expression. Instead of adopting the poetic strategy of Ovid, the most celebrated writer of Classical, profane, love poetry, he now uses the methods of Christ's teaching. Prudentius had presented God as a kind of editor or divine writer. For Crashaw, as well as being an object of worship, the embodiment of Christian love provides a model for Crashaw's strategy of moving from the known to be unknown in his language of religious love.

Crashaw is also able to draw upon the erotic possibilities of the story itself, that of a visiting bridegroom. The bridegroom of the highly erotic Song of Songs was considered to be an allegory for Christ, and the love of the canticles was seen as the relationship between Christ and humanity, or at times the Church.[29] Crashaw uses this allegory as another "sanction" for his erotic language. He uses vocabulary derived from the Song of Songs in the two final stanzas, for example the "deare

---

[29] Stanley Stewart, The Enclosed Garden (London and Madison Wisc., 1966), pp. 3-30.

silver breasted dove",[30] "her morning spouse...all fresh and fragrant as he rises".[31] This indicates that he is influenced by Biblical as well as Classical uses of erotic language. Thus, through alluding to the story of the wise virgins, he has provided himself with a justification for the eroticism which is to follow.

The remainder of stanza 9 begins the agglomeration of ecstatic language. He recognises the limits of spoken language to deal with the ecstatic in religious experience.

> Words which are not heard with eares,
> (Those tumultuous shops of noise)
> Effectuall whispers whose still voyce
> The soule it selfe more feeles than heares.
> (ll. 59-62)

In his attempt to produce a written language which will enter a spiritual dimension he even rejects the domain of visual imagery as inadequate to describe "sights which are not seen with eyes". The only linguistic register left is that of the sensual. This kind of language seems permissible in erotic poetry, but may appear incongruous in a religious context.[32] Yvor Winters has objected that:

> the poet who insists on dealing with the [mystical] experience and who becomes involved emotionally in the sexual analogy runs the risk of corrupting his devotional poetry generally with sexual imagery. It is not that sexual experience is "immoral"; but it is irrelevant ... and can result in nothing but confusion.[33]

---

[30] See for Song of Songs, ch. 5, ll, 2 and 12.

[31] For reference's to the spouse as fragrant, see Song of Songs, ch. 4, ll. 14-16, and ch. 7, l. 13.

[32] See A.F. Allison, "Some Influences on Crashaw's Poem 'On a Prayer booke Sent to Mrs M.R,'" RES, 23 (1947), 34-42, in which he suggests Carew's almost pornographic "A Rapture" as a source for Crashaw's poem.

[33] Winters, p. 92.

Yet when Crashaw has made clear that no other form of language will do, the only resource left is the erotic. As Simone Weil protested:

> To reproach mystics with loving God by means of the faculty of sexual love, is as though one were to reproach a painter with making pictures by means of colours composed of material substances. We haven't anything else with which to love.[34]

Far from being irrelevant, the language of sexuality is surely the most apt to describe the rapturous "ek-stasis", literally standing outside the self, felt in devotional meditation.[35]

In stanza 10 Crashaw uses orgasmic language as the nearest he can manage to experiences "for which it is no shame,/ That dull mortality must not know a name".

> Delicious deaths, soft exhalations
> Of soule: deare, and divine annihilations.
> A thousand unknowne rites
> Of joyes, and rarifyed delights.
> (ll. 71-4)

He uses language which describes the most ecstatic human experience of love to form an analogy for the projected experience of heavenly love. St Francis De Sales places human sexual ecstasy, and that caused by the worship of God at separate ends of a continuum of love stretching from human and divine. Crashaw moves from one end of the scale to the other, as he uses familiar earthly experience to create an analogue for an imagined heavenly consummation.

---

[34] Simone Weil, The Notebooks of Simone Weil, trans. Arthur Wills (London, 1956), II, p. 472.

[35] See Low on Augustine Baker and "sensible devotion" Love's Architecture pp. 128-133.

Crashaw has been criticised for a lack of analytical and argumentative structure and for the overly emotional tone of his writing. Petersson comments "While Crashaw's interest in the life of the intellect is minimal, his attraction to the spiritual passion of Catholic baroque is limitless".[36] Yet it seems unlikely that such an unthinking hedonist would have been able to construct a discourse of love in the complex fashion which Crashaw did. This chapter has demonstrated that the process by which he achieves such a construction is best understood in terms of the conventions and tropes of Latin poetry. His own Latin epigrams are vital to any analysis of his later poetry. In these early poems he developed a method of adapting erotic language to a sacred purpose which he was later to use in his English poetry.

Crashaw's erotic language is far from being a gratuitous, and tasteless venture into an area unfitting for religious poets. His struggle to develop a discourse in which to express spiritual ecstasy indicates not only a personal obsession with the love of God, but a desire to communicate it to his readers in terms that they may understand. From the familiar vocabulary and conventions of erotic poetry he works towards the unfamiliar territory of ecstatic contemplative worship. From Classical eroticism he moves gradually towards his own language of Christian love. As Prudentius had done in his Hymns, he also expects his readers to participate in this process, by using their knowledge of Biblical and Classical convention to decode the text. He stresses that it is vital for the reader to become the arbitrator between secular and religious discourses, to effect a kind of literary consubstantation, and allow profane love to become sacred.

Crashaw can therefore be seen as an heir to the problematic efforts of Ovid

---

[36] Robert Petersson, p. 124.

and Prudentius to adapt a previous discourse to new needs. He uses the tropes and conventions of secular poetry, and moves from this to the influence of Biblical love. He attempts to insist that erotic love is in no way as important as the love between God and humanity, and that secular eroticism is merely a means of constructing an allegory by which his readers may understand the ecstacy that he believes the love of God will bring. Yet, finally, the connotations of erotic love continue to impinge, somewhat incongruously on the language of sacred love which Crashaw seeks to develop. Crashaw attempts to insist that although *amor* may be the model from which the love of God develops, the Christian God is by far the more powerful deity. But the language of *amor* cannot be excluded from that of Christianity.

## Chapter Four: Crashaw and Cambridge in the 1640s

In this second part of the thesis I shall discuss poetry written in English, which appeared for the first time in the 1646 edition of Steps to the Temple, especially those poems written to St. Teresa and the Blessed Virgin Mary. By writing about St. Teresa and the Virgin, Crashaw was partly attesting to a personal admiration for them, but his doing so also reflects his place within the doctrinal debates of the 1630s and early '40s, which were particularly acute in Cambridge. Apart from "The Flaming Heart", the poems Crashaw wrote to female intermediaries, both human and saintly, were written while he was at Cambridge, as an undergraduate at Pembroke, and fellow at Peterhouse. In this chapter I shall discuss the reasons why it is important to read Crashaw's poetry within the wider political and religious context of 1640s Cambridge, and not to assume that any religious poetry is a purely personal exercise in devotion.

It is of course possible to read Crashaw's poetry without knowing about the political and doctrinal circumstances in which he lived. His poetry seems so personal. The editor of Steps to the Temple announces in the preface that the poems: "shal lift thee Reader, some yards above the ground: ... and tune thy soule by it to a heavenly pitch." Following Ferrar's Eulogy of George Herbert, as: "justly a companion to the primitive Saints",[1] the editor also describes how:

> he led his life in St Maries Church neere St. Peters colledge ... where like a primitive saint, he offered up more prayers in the night, then others usually offer during the day.[2]

---

[1] "The Printers to the Reader", in George Herbert, The Temple, ed. Nicholas Ferrar (Cambridge, 1633), ¶ 3ᵃ.

[2] Preface to Richard Crashaw, Steps to the Temple (London, 1646), A3ᵃ

This epitaph has encouraged readers to think of Crashaw as an intensely private, pious man, in the mould of Herbert. It has also reinforced the impression that his poetry was a personal statement of his own faith, and nothing to do with worldly matters. It also again reinforces the impression of Crashaw's somewhat backward-looking sensibility. The editor also asserts that he has returned poetry to "its primitive use", by which he seems to mean that of praising God, rather than women. As we shall see, however, this longing to emulate and revive the spirit of the early church did not enable him to escape or transcend contemporary doctrinal debates. Rather it associated him with the views of the Laudians, one of the contending factions within Cambridge.

His poetry appears to be more concerned with an ascent to heaven, rather than with contemporary political debates. However, the very act of writing religious poetry in Cambridge at this time, however personal its content, placed the poet in the midst of one of the most controversial subjects of the 1640s. It was, in effect, a reflection of Crashaw's own part in the discussion of a national obsession, and Cambridge was one of the centres of this controversy. Although modern readers of Crashaw and other religious poets tend to assume that devotion to God is a very private matter, in the seventeenth century this was very far from the case. In 1647, the second edition of Henry More's Philosophicall Poems, was published. During the civil war any issue relating to religious belief had become so sensitive that More felt compelled to add a defence of his methods in the preface: "that [he] might avoid all suspicion of partiality":[3]

> I would be very loath to be so farre mistaken as to be thought a Censurer or Condemner of other mens Religions or Opinions, if they

---

[3] Henry More, Philosophicall Poems (Cambridge, 1647), B[bb]

> serve God in them in the simplicity of their hearts. ... All that I mean is this: That neither promoting of Opinion or Ceremony, nor the earnest opposing of the same, nor the acuteness of reason, nor yet a strong, if naked conceit, that we have the spirit of God, can excuse a man from being in any better condition than the land of Brutes. ... For if we can but once entitle our oppinions and mistakes to Religion and God's Spirit, it is like running quick-silver in the back of a sword, and will enable us to strike to utter destruction and ruin. But it would prevent a great deal of bloud and bitternesse in the Christian world, if we reserved the flower and strength of our zeal for the undoubted truth of God and His Righteousnesse, and were more mildly and moderately affected concerning the traditions and determinations of the Elders.[4]

It is an impassioned defence of his choice not to become embroiled in such disputes, as well as of his allegorical method of presenting them as a type of animal fable in Psychozoia. We are now shown that all the animals who represent the various doctrinal opinions are to some extent corrupt or laughable because of their exaggerated sectarian commitment, which seems to be more important to them than the worship of God. Yet at the same time it is clear that he felt that any religious commitment or writing was very much public property, and tries to argue that religion should not be a cause of strife.

As a result of their belief in God's universal love, other Cambridge Platonists also thought that religion ought not to be dominated by the constant wrangles and moral earnestness which seem to have been more current in the 1640s. Smith insists that:

> Religion is no sullen *Stoicism* or oppressing *Melancholy*, it is no enthralling tyranny exercised over those noble and virtuous affections of Love and Delight; but it is full of a vigourous and masculine delight and joy.[5]

---

4 More, Philosophicall Poems, $B^{2a}$.

5 John Smith, John Smith, "The True Way or Method of Attaining to Divine Knowledge", in Select Discourses, 2nd. edn. (Cambridge, 1673), pp. 405-6.

This lead him to take a moderate position in the politico-religious disputes of the period, and to insist that God's universal love could be an antidote to them. Cudworth exhorts his readers: "Let us expresse this harmonious Affection, in these jarring times: that so it may be possible, we may tune the world at last, into better Musick."[6] He also asserts the Socratic idea of Plato's early dialogues, that if man knows what is right he must automatically act in accordance with this:[7]

> When we would convince men of any errour by the strength of *Truth*, let us poure the sweet Balme of Love upon their heads. *Truth and Love*, are two the most powerful things in the world [sic], and when they both go together, they cannot easily be withstood.[8]

Thus it seems that the Platonists were more likely to enter into religious dialogue with those with whom they disagreed, rather than becoming actively embroiled in rivalry between factions.[9]

These views were only those of a minority. More felt compelled to defend Psychozoia because it contained a satire, which he enlarged in the 1647 edition,[10] on the real state of Cambridge religion which was riven by sectarian disputes. More himself was amongst the moderate party at Christ's, and distanced himself from the

---

[6] Ralph Cudworth, A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, At Westminster, March 31, 1647 (Cambridge, 1647), p. 61.

[7] For example The Meno, 87c-89a in Plato, Opera Omnia, (Francofurti, 1602).

[8] Cudworth, p. 118.

[9] For discussion of religious toleration among the Platonists see Aaron Lichtenstein, Henry More (Harvard, 1962), p. 8, John Hoyles, The Waning of the Renaissance 1640-1740 (The Hague, 1971), pp. 5-7.

[10] Stanzas 57-125 in canto two were added.

type of extreme Puritanism for which the college was known.[11]

Cambridge became central to the religious arguments of the early seventeenth century. From the mid-1590s onwards it was at the centre of the debate between Calvinists and their opponents. It is difficult to determine what the opposing faction should be known as. The term "High Anglicanism" ought not to be used, since the term is an anachronism, which only came into wide use in the mid-nineteenth century.[12] Julian Davies, who stresses this, prefers to call it Carolinism, because the character of religion during Charles I's reign was so much influenced by the King's views, which Davies describes as "anti-dogmatic, anti-fideistic Erasmianism", but definitely not Calvinistic.[13] Nicholas Tyacke describes the movement as "Arminian". Others, such as Peter Lake and Hugh Trevor-Roper, use the term Laudian. I shall use this latter term, as well as Tyacke's other description, the Anti-Calvinists, but the two terms will be used in two distinct senses. Anti-Calvinism will be used to describe a specifically doctrinal and theological movement which emerged in Cambridge in the 1590s. Tyacke calls this "Arminian" after the Dutch Protestant reformer, Arminius, who opposed Calvin's ideas about predestination.[14] However, this should more correctly be described as "Arminianism *avant la lettre*", as Porter calls it,[15] since Cambridge theologians such

---

[11] More, Philosophicall Poems, ed. Bullock, p. xiv.

[12] Julian Davies, The Caroline Captivity of the Church (Oxford 1992), p. 5.

[13] Davies, p. 13.

[14] Nicholas Tyacke, "Puritanism, Arminianism, and the Counter-Revolution," in Conrad Russell, The Origins of the English Civil War (Oxford, 1973), pp. 119-43 (p. 119).

[15] H.C.Porter, Reform and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (Cambridge, 1958), p. 281.

as Lancelot Andrewes, John Overall and Richard Bancroft had begun to question the doctrine of predestination before Arminius became influential, or the term coined in England.[16] Although the term was used in the seventeenth century to describe those who opposed Calvinism,[17] there were also distinct differences between the English version of "Arminianism" and the ideas of the Dutch theologian. The stress which was placed on the physical appearance of Churches and the importance of ritual, by what has become known as the "Beauty of Holiness" movement, was entirely English.[18] This is why I have used two descriptions for the opposition to Calvinism. "Anti-Calvinism" describes the doctrinal movement which opposed predestination and stressed the importance of the sacraments, but I shall use "Laudianism" to describe the movement towards greater ceremony and beauty in religion.

It would be incorrect to call the Anti-Calvinists Laudians, since so many of them, especially Andrewes, Overall and Bancroft, were influential well before Laud's rise to power. Laudians are also not necessarily Arminian. Although Tyacke describes Laud as an Arminian, there is no proof that this was so, as Sharpe and White have asserted.[19] I use the term to describe not only measures advocated by Laud, but others in broad agreement with him, like Bishop Neile of Durham, and John Cosin who had been prebendary at Durham before becoming Master of Peterhouse in 1634. Peter Lake argues for the use of the term and asserts that:

---

[16] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "Laudianism and Political Power", in his Catholics Anglicans and Puritans (London, 1987), pp. 40-120. (pp. 46-50).

[17] Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, p. 45.

[18] Trevor-Roper, p. 52.

[19] Kevin Sharpe, "Archbishop Laud," History Today, 33 (August, 1983), 26-30 and Peter White, "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered," Past and Present 101, (November, 1983), 34-54.

"Laudianism ... did exist as a coherent, distinctive and polemically aggressive vision of the Church, the divine presence in the world and the appropriate ritual response to that presence." He feels that the distinctiveness of the vision lies not so much in individual opinions but in a collective synthesis of ideas.[20] There is no certainty that these ideas derived directly from the doctrinal opposition to predestination of the Anti-Calvinists. The Laudians believed that Churches should be beautiful, and worship filled with ceremony, music and ritual.[21] Lake thinks that this was because they believed that God is present in a Church during worship.[22] If, therefore, a Church was God's house it should accordingly be as beautiful as possible.[23] Worship was also to be made as ceremonious as possible to show respect to God.[24] They believed in physical acts of piety like kneeling during worship. John Yates declared that: "To worship the Lambe is without dispensation, and prostration before him admits no prohibition; We perish if we doe it not."[25]

Tyacke believes that this new enthusiasm for the beauty of the physical setting of worship derives not so much from an awareness of God's presence, but

---

[20] Peter Lake, "The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s," in The Early Stuart Church 1603-1642, ed. Kenneth Fincham (London, 1993), pp. 161-186, (pp. 162-3).

[21] For a collection of contemporary documents about Laudian practices, see Vernon Staley, ed. Hierurgia Anglicana, (London, 1903), II, pp. 221-256.

[22] Lake, p. 164.

[23] Robert Shelford, Five Pious and Holy Discourses (Cambridge, 1635), pp. 11-12. See also R.T. De Templis (London, 1638), Walter Balanquhall, The Honour of Christian Churches (London, 1633).

[24] Edward Boughen, A Sermon Concerning Decencie and Order in the Church (London, 1638), pp. 6-11.

[25] John Yates, A Treatise in Honour of God's House (London, 1637), *3$^{b}$.

from an Arminian rejection of the idea of grace through predestination and a consequent preoccupation with the sacraments as a source of grace, which were, of course, anathema to the Calvinists.[26] The Laudians were concerned that the Altar should be placed at the East end of the Church, and that worshippers should bow to it[27] to demonstrate that it was "more sacred than any material thing besides to the Church belonging."[28] Tyacke sees this as part of a new interest in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

Davies, however, argues that this is not the case. Archbishop Laud himself was especially concerned that not only should churches be made more beautiful, but that derelict churches be restored and repaired, and to this end he established diocesan commissions to survey all churches and order repairs.[29] Davies argues that this enthusiasm for the outward visibility of the church and the holiness of the consecrated place derives from the emphasis Laud placed on Patristic scholarship. Patristic writers accord great importance to the visibility and catholicity of the historical Church, on the liturgy and on sacramental theology. Thus the greater emphasis placed on sacraments comes from this, and not debates about predestination and grace. Laud's stress on the importance of the Episcopate was also a result of his Patristic scholarship, since the Bishops formed an essential link to the primitive church.[30] Thus, because the links between what have been seen as

---

[26] Tyacke, "Puritanism", p. 129.

[27] Foulke Robarts, God's Holy House and Service (London, 1639), p. 91.

[28] Peter Heylyn, Antidotum Lincolniense (London, 1637) Section II, p. 86. See also Eleazor Duncon, Of Worshipping Towards the Altar (London 1660).

[29] Davies, p. 75.

[30] Davies, pp. 51-56.

"Laudian" measures and "Arminian" theology are at best debatable, I prefer not to conflate the two terms.

Laud's stress on the links with the primitive church also indicate that Crashaw's affinity with the "primitive", and the distant past was not simply the mark of a nostalgic personality, nor was it ideologically neutral. He is celebrated as being like "a primitive saint". He also chooses to look to the classical past for models for his poetry and links himself with the ancient, Catholic tradition of the veneration of saints. Such "primitivist" tendencies surely link him with Laudian attempts to return to the mores of the early church, and identify him, through his poetry, with the Laudian faction.

Cambridge was, then, at the centre of the religious and political struggles between Calvinists and Anti-Calvinists from the 1590s to the 1640s.[31] In this period Oxford and Cambridge were responsible for the training of academic theologians and, what is more important, the men who would become the next generation of parish clergy throughout England. As John Twigg points out, it was vital, once the civil war began, for parliament to gain control of the university, and ensure that those who taught in it were acceptable in their religious opinions.[32] Heterodox teaching of which Parliament disapproved had to be stopped before it reached the impressionable masses. Oxford could not be so controlled after the outbreak of hostilities, since it was the royalist headquarters. The collegiate nature of Cambridge University also helped foment sectarian debate. Small independent

---

[31] See Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, chapter two.

[32] John Twigg, The University of Cambridge and the English Revolution, 1625-1688, (Cambridge, 1990), p. 88.

communities of academics tended to create "cells" of religious belief and be more unshakeably unanimous in their opinions than a larger, more amorphous unit might have been. Colleges like Emmanuel, which had been founded specifically to foster strict forms of Protestantism,[33] and Christ's were Calvinistic.[34] By the late 1630s and early 1640s such Colleges were, of necessity, implacably opposed to those who had been taken over by the Anti-Calvinist faction. Notable amongst these were Peterhouse, where Crashaw was a fellow, and Pembroke, where he had been an undergraduate.

Cambridge University was divided internally, and debated details of liturgical procedure, of whether music should be played, of where altars should be and what they were to be called. As Hoyle says:

> In truth, theological debate and liturgical change in Cambridge during the 1630s reflects a breadth of interest that terms like "via media", "Arminianism", and "anti-Calvinism" cannot convey. What Cambridge witnessed was not simply a reaction to the massive certainties of Calvinism, but a protracted and wide ranging assault on the English Reformation settlement.[35]

Despite the findings of Laud's report into the status of the university, which concluded that religious observance in most colleges was in utter disarray,[36] intellectual debate was raging about what should happen, even if very little actually did.

---

[33] Tyacke, Anti-Calvinists, p. 11, p. 28.

[34] More, Philosophical Poems, ed. Bullock, p. xiii.

[35] David Hoyle, Near Popery yet no Popery, Unpublished PhD Thesis (Cambridge, 1991), p. 228.

[36] Hoyle, p. 212.

Hostility to the changes which Laud espoused seems to stem from the pervasive neurosis about creeping Catholicism that was stirred up by "popish" addenda to worship such as kneeling to a high altar, in a richly decorated chapel, with not only a priest but the congregation wearing surplices.[37] Indeed there were even allegations of Catholic recruitment at Peterhouse; two fellows, Richard Lee and Richard Nickels were accused of offering a fellowship to an undergraduate at St Catherine's as an inducement to conversion.[38] Fuller, a seventeenth century historian who held relatively moderate views,[39] complains of a sermon given in Great Saint Mary's in 1632,[40] and remarks:

> And indeed it now began to be the generall complaint of most moderate men, that many in the university ... approach the opinions of the Church of *Rome* nearer than ever before.[41]

Peterhouse was at the centre of this "Near popery", and so was Crashaw.

He, and another Poet-fellow, Joseph Beaumont[42] were closely involved with the changes that took place under the Cosin mastership, and were two of Trevor-

---

[37] J.G. Hoffman, "The Puritan Revolution and the 'Beauty of Holiness' at Cambridge," Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 72 (1984), 94-106.

[38] Twigg, p. 51.

[39] Dictionary of National Biography, vol.7, p. 756.

[40] Twigg identifies the preacher as Nathaniel Bernard, a former fellow of Emmanuel, who was a Calvinist opposed to Laud. University Of Cambridge, p.30.

[41] Thomas Fuller, The History of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1655), p.166.

[42] 1616-1699, fellow of Peterhouse from 1634-43.

Roper's infamous "Revolting fellows".[43] Both were ejected because they were unable to sign the Parliamentary Covenant in 1643. At the same time, as many as half the total University fellowship was ejected.[44] As Twigg comments:

> Both the forms which harassment of such clergy took, and the motives behind such actions were diverse; grievances which were originally religious often became politicised in the heat of war, and other- especially military- concerns influenced the way in which Parliament sought to deal with dissident clergymen.[45]

The severity of the purge was due, as a result, almost to an accident of timing. The Earl of Manchester, in charge of the purge, was in too great a hurry to hear appeals or to consider mercy. He had to be finished before the campaigning season, which was soon to begin.[46] There seems to have been a real danger that the university could have been completely dissolved, and Manchester himself wrote to parliament to advocate reform as a preferable option.[47] However, the perception of the university's dangerous state continued, and is reflected in the pathos of the prayer for both universities that concludes Fuller's history. Using the image of the universities as twin suns he asks: "Oh though for *their sinnes* thou permittest them to be *eclipsed*, for *thy mercy* doe not suffer them to be *extinguished*."[48]

Although Crashaw's Steps to the Temple was not published until after his ejection in 1643, it is likely than some of the poems were composed during his

---

[43] Trevor-Roper, p. 302.

[44] Twigg, p. 98.

[45] Twigg, p. 88.

[46] Twigg, p. 92.

[47] Twigg, p. 83.

[48] Fuller, p. 172

period in Cambridge. Even the title of the book encoded an ideological message to those who wished to see it. In one sense it is an act of homage to Herbert's Temple, in another it marks a commitment to Laudian practice. The Parliamentary forces who stripped Cambridge chapels of their "Popish" accoutrements also dug up the steps on which the high altar was raised. These steps were apparently extremely beautiful at Peterhouse, made of marble and covered with a fine carpet.[49] Thus if Crashaw's poetry of worship is envisaged as an ascent up steps to a holy sanctuary, before we even begin to read, we have some idea of the writer's devotional stance. He also refers to a "temple" rather than a church, and it is clear that this was a Laudian term for a place of Christian, rather than pagan worship.[50] The poems themselves show a love of ceremonial that aligns their author with the Peterhouse Laudians. The Epiphany and Nativity Hymns are set out as if for musical performance,[51] and the "Hymn to the Name" is concerned with ceremony in worship, and assumes that bowing to Christ's name is correct. Crashaw joined with the Laudians even more openly by writing the two poems about the chapel. One of Laud's main concerns was that Colleges should have their own chapels,[52] and thus these elegant begging letters made an open statement of Crashaw's political and religious commitment. Crashaw may have been influenced by the European

---

[49] British Library Harleian Manuscript. 7019, fol.71.

[50] For example R.T. De Templis, and Richard Tedder, A Sermon Preached at Wymondham in Norfolk (London, 1637), p. 16. This was preached on the occasion of the visit of another Laudian, Bishop Matthew Wren, thus the author would probably have not used the term had he thought that Wren would find it offensive.

[51] Hoffman, pp. 98-9, discusses service books found in Peterhouse Chapel which contained various musical settings of the liturgy.

[52] Trevor-Roper, p. 84.

Baroque, but needed to look no further than his own college chapel for sensual magnificence dedicated to the praise of God.

Crashaw's own devotional behaviour was, as far as we know, similarly Laudian. It was alleged that he held "popish private masses".[53] In the same document, he is also accused of inordinate devotion to the Virgin and the saints, and of public veneration of a statue of Mary. He gave the chapel communion plate on which was engraved, "This is my body", which was perceived to indicate a belief in transubstantiation, and showed exaggerated reverence for the sanctuary and the Eucharist itself. Joseph Beaumont, was also accused of inveighing against Calvin, and of devotion to St. Peter.[54]

The Laudians' love of beauty and adornment in chapels, and the use of music in the liturgy may help to explain what have seemed to be alien features of Crashaw's sensibility. Peterhouse chapel provided an extremely opulent environment for worship. The altar was covered with party-coloured silks. Two large, gilt candlesticks, a "Bason" and richly bound books were placed on it. The decorations included a dove, and cherubim, above the altar, and behind it were hangings painted with angels and the legend "*In quod cupiunt Angeli*". There was also a large crucifix in the east window and pictures of the life of Christ were hung on the walls. Crosses were worked into the woodwork of the stalls, and the chapel door was decorated with an image of St. Peter.[55] The elements of his poetry which

---

[53] Cambridge University Archives, Records of the Vice Chancellor's Court II.36.40. See also Pritchard, p. 578.

[54] British Library Harl. Ms. 7019, fol. 71.

[55] British Library Harl. Ms. 7019, fol. 71.

have been described as continental and "baroque" may well be a response to such opulence in actual, as well as poetic, worship.

It may also help to elucidate Crashaw's tendency to consider love through other people's experience. The "Beauty of Holiness" movement would have seemed, to more puritanical Protestants, a way of using distractions of sensual beauty to distance one from a personal consideration of love for God. Such channelling or deferral of experience through sensuality can be seen in Crashaw's poetry. This can be partially explained by his acceptance of sensual opulence and ritual as aids to worship, rather than distractions from God.

Perhaps writers praised Crashaw and Herbert for being like "primitive saints" because they were aware that the spheres of religion and politics were so strongly linked in the mid-seventeenth century. If the editor of Steps to the Temple longs for a poet whose devotion to God cut him off from the public world in a way no longer usual, then this was perhaps a way of conceding that devotion was no longer a private matter in the 1640s. The editor may also be indicating his view that Crashaw with his "popish" love of the sensual and the meditational, is closer to the spirit of primitive Christianity than the most militantly iconoclastic Puritan.

The emphasis on sensual opulence in Crashaw's poetry clearly associates him with the Laudian faction. Even the title of his book can be seen as a reference to Laudian beliefs about the importance of reverence to the altar. As a Laudian, he was a member of a faction supported only by a minority of those in Cambridge. It may be that the repeated delineation in his poetry of a sense of exclusion from access to the love of God reflected a religious sensibility at odds with his own jarring times.

## Chapter Five:"What Kind Of Thing Is Love?": Some Seventeenth Century Definitions of Religious Love

In the epigrams Crashaw had evolved a method of writing about love. Yet he had not produced any kind of definition of what religious love might be, nor indeed had he investigated what kind of relationship humanity might aspire to have with God. Before discussing how he attempted to resolve these questions, I shall consider how other devotional writers of the Renaissance period strove to define the love of God. By examining how other writers of the Renaissance period wrote about love, it is possible to determine how far Crashaw's own thinking about divine love either agreed with, or differed from that of some of his contemporaries, and perhaps to detect the influence of some of the writers on Crashaw's attitudes to religious love.

In The Purification of A Christian Man's Soul, Henry More dismissed the idea of an enquiry into the nature of religious love in the following terms:

> To make any subtle disquisition of the nature of *Love*, is not much to the purpose. Every one knows what it is to love himself, how he is affected towards himself: Let him but transfer that affection, which he is sensible of in himself, to his Neighbour, and the Duty is done more substantially and completely, than all the Scholastical definitions and curious circumscriptions can be able to set it out. [1]

However, in an attempt to understand how seventeenth century thinkers conceptualised religious love it is necessary to examine such "Scholastical definitions" produced by contemporary writings. We cannot be sure exactly which of the following meditational writers Crashaw would have read. Although many of these texts were printed in Europe, Martz based his seminal work, The Poetry of

---

[1] Henry More, "The Purification of a Christian Man's Soul," in Discourses on Several texts of Scripture, ed. John Worthington (London, 1692), p. 415.

Meditation,[2] on the premise that such writing was, nevertheless, vastly influential on English poets.

More has become known as a "Cambridge Platonist", although there was never an organised group of that name.[3] In the second section of this chapter I shall discuss the work of several writers such as More, George Rust, John Smith and Ralph Cudworth, who have all been called Cambridge Platonists by later commentators. Despite the views More expresses above, these writers wrote a great deal about the love of God. Their work is similar in that they were all Christian theologians who rejected the previously dominant Aristotelian mode of Philosophy, preferring instead to adapt Platonic philosophy to Christian subjects.[4] Most of them wrote in prose, and More was unusual in also writing poetry. Yet whatever genre they wrote in, the idea of divine love as perceived by man was vital to them all.

It is from the writing of these two groups, that we gain some idea of what kind of thing religious love was perceived to be. Crashaw's own ideas can, then, be seen in context of those of the devotional literature available to him and the differing ideas of those around him.

---

[2] Louis Martz, The Poetry of Meditation (New Haven and London, 1954).

[3] A. Rupert Hall, Henry More (Oxford, 1990), p. 58.

[4] For a detailed discussion of their ideas, see W.C. De Pauley, The Candle of the Lord (London, 1937), G.H.P. Pawson, The Cambridge Platonists and their Place in Religious Thought (London, 1930), Frederick James Powicke, The Cambridge Platonists (Cambridge, Mass. 1926), Rosalie L. Colie, Light and Enlightenment (Cambridge, 1957).

Section One: European Meditational Writers

Louis Martz considers the meditational writers of the Counter Reformation to have been a direct influence on English poetry in the Renaissance. Although they were written by Catholic authors he shows that there was a huge demand for such books in England.[5] Bertonasco also remarks on the: "openness in the intellectual climate of the day, especially in matters of devotion and meditation."[6]

Martz shows that a remarkable similarity of devotional procedure exists in all meditational writers. I shall, however, be using the information which the texts can provide in a slightly different fashion from the one he employed. In the first part of The Poetry of Meditation, he discusses definitions and procedures of meditation in detail, and compares those produced by a variety of writers. Like Martz, I shall also compare the information to be found in meditational texts. However, unlike him, I shall be using it as a resource from which to discover not what the writers thought about meditation itself, but how they defined and described religious love.

Ignatius Loyola's Spiritual Exercises were first published in 1548, and proved extremely influential as a manual of rigorous mental devotion to God. As a result of their popularity, by the beginning of the seventeenth century a large number of works on meditation had been written or published in new editions. Ignatius' original work is small, and consists of suggested steps by which a director of a retreat may guide the person to a better contemplation of God. Thus it was

---

[5] Martz, p. 6. See also A.C. Southern, Elizabethan Recusant Prose (London, 1950), pp. 30-43.

[6] Bertonasco, Crashaw, p. 45.

intended originally as a co-operative process, in which the individual imagination was stimulated by the promptings of both text and retreat master. The conscience of the individual was to be stimulated in reaction to the priest's public embellishment of the original Ignatian text.

The second generation of texts relied on the Ignatian framework of devotion, but were different in nature and purpose. St Francis de Sales, for example, was influenced by the Ignatian tradition of meditation, but he favoured a less intellectually rigorous approach to mental devotion. He preferred meditation to be "affective" rather than analytical[7] The later texts seem to have been designed as manuals for private devotion[8] The writer no longer simply directs the meditator to think, for example, about the nativity. As part of the instruction, he also adds some of his own meditation on the subject, almost by way of an example. The most notable instance of this is Luis de la Puente's Meditations on the Mysteries.[9] Using the slim volume of the Spiritual Exercises as his inspiration, he produces two large books of meditation, totalling nearly two thousand pages. Though the preface and opening chapters announce it as an instructional work, it is not only an aid to the reader's devotion but also an attestation of its writer's own piety.

Martz comments that because of the popularity of the Spiritual Exercises many of the texts are similar in meditational procedure[10]. They do not all contain

---

[7] Antony Low, Love's Architecture (New York, 1978), p. 126

[8] See Martz, p. 26.

[9] Luis de la Puente, Meditations upon the Mysteries of our Holie Faith, trans. John Heigham, 2 volumes (St Omer, 1619).

[10] Martz, p. 25.

the same elements, but amongst the most popular were considerations of the life of Christ, and a weekly schedule of meditation. This began on a Monday, and comprised sin, the person's faults, death, judgement, hell, Heaven, and ended on Sunday with God and his goodness.[11]

The problems which a modern reader faces when interpreting seventeenth century ideas about love are exemplified by the definition of it by Robert Bellarmine. He was a Jesuit theologian, famous for the Controversiae,[12] a work in which he sought to systematise Catholic doctrine and defend it against Protestant reformers. As a noted controversialist he opposed the views of James I on divine right, and the Oath of Allegiance, which James insisted that all English Catholics should take.[13] He also wrote two widely used catechisms used by children and their instructors, which were directly approved by Pope Clement VII.[14] The following quotation is, however from his meditational work A Most Learned and Pious Treatise ... whereby our Mindes may Ascende to God:

> For love is the chiefe among the affections and perturbations of the minde, which ruleth all and is obeyed by all. Love will not be forced; and if it will be stopped one way, it breaketh out another way. Love feareth nothing, dareth any thing and vanquisheth all thing.

---

[11] Pedro de Alcántara, A Golden Treatise of Mentall Praier, trans. Giles Willoughby (Brussels, 1632). Alcántara (1499-1562), was a Franciscan ascetic and mystic who carried out reform within the order, and advised St. Teresa on her reforms of the Carmelites. New Catholic Encyclopaedia (Washington DC, 1967) 11, p. 208.

[12] Robert Bellarmine, Disputationes de Contoversiis Christianae Fidei adversus Temporis Haereticos, 3 vols. (Ingolstadt, 1586, 1588 and 1593).

[13] Robert Bellarmine, 1542-1621, New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 2, pp. 250-2. See also J. Brodnick, The Life and Work of the Blessed Robert Franciscus Cardinal Bellarmine (London, 1928).

[14] These were the Dottrina Cristiana Breve (Rome, 1597), and the Dichiarazione più Copiosa della Dottrina Cristiana (Rome, 1598).

> Lastly, Love yeildeth only to greater love. So fleshly love which followeth the wealth and pleasures of the world, yeildeth only to the love of God, and the water of the holy ghost distilling into the hart of man, quickly cooleth the heate of concupiscence.[15]

There is a noticeable slippage in this passage within the single signifier "love", and the very different concepts which it represents. The first two sentences in the passage seem to imply a sexual type of love: an irresistible "perturbation" sounds very like our idea of lust. Yet the courageous strength of the third sentence is, even in its cadences and rhythm, reminiscent of the selfless Pauline virtues of Caritas. The opposed clauses of the second paragraph set up earthly love, of whatever kind, in opposition to that of Heaven, but the equal weighting and construction of the syntax seems to suggest an equal force not easily overcome. Yet finally this intriguing concept is dismissed with the pejorative label of "concupiscence". The passage demonstrates how difficult it can be to determine what kind of love is being discussed. Sexuality and selfless friendship often become entwined in these texts, even in those which create rigorous taxonomies.

Molina and Puente both attempt to define love, though in a somewhat mechanical fashion. The similarity of their methodology may be due to sharing the same devotional background. Both were ascetic, mystical writers of the Spanish Counter Reformation. Little is known about Puente, apart from his being part of a school of mystical writing centred around Alcalá University. This was founded in 1508 and became the most important centre of Christian Humanism in Spain.[16] Molina was a Carthusian, who eventually became Prior of the Monastery of

---

[15] Robert Bellarmine, A Most Learned and Pious Treatise (Douay, 1616). p. 117.

[16] Luis de la Puente, d.1624, New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 13, p. 508.

Miraflores. His ascetic works, written particularly for the use of priests became the most popular of the kind in Spain.[17] Both writers divide love into numbered parts, akin to Aristotle's four causes. Molina considers human relationships and decides that there are three types of love. Someone in love is glad of any good that comes to the beloved, is desirous of providing them with more good things, and does all he/she can to help him/her.[18] This causes problems when he applies the analogy to God. Though we may be happy that God is good, he cannot, by definition, not be, and Molina is forced to conclude it is also impossible to desire an infinitely Good deity to be any more so; and thus hard to imagine how humanity may demonstrate its love by helping God the beloved. Perhaps, he suggests: "we may and ought to shew that we love him in our workes fulfilling his commandments" and by "conformity and resignation" to his will so that we: "love what he loveth, abhorre what he abhorreth, and desire in all things that his will be done."[19]

Puente is in broad agreement with Molina's taxonomy. He names the types "benevolence", "amitie", and "liberalitie" respectively[20] He adds another category "concupiscence" a selfish love of something which will bring profit, like eating. He then goes on, at much more length to provide proof that all these types of love, except of course human selfishness, are shown by God.

It might seem, therefore, as if human love is given a lower valuation than

---

[17] Antonio de Molina, 1550-1612, New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 9, p. 1010.

[18] Antonio de Molina, A Treatise of Mental Prayer, trans. J. Sweetman (St. Omer, 1617), p. 84.

[19] Molina, p. 86-7.

[20] Puente, II, part VI.

divine love. Some writers advise that human love is indeed unworthy and sinful. One of these is Lorenzo Scupoli. He was a monk of the Theatine order,[21] which was founded in 1524 by Cardinal Cajetan, and was dedicated to the promotion of Catholic reform.[22] In The Spiritual Conflict, Scupoli advises a hypothetical woman that: "It behoveth thee to have a speciall care, to have thy will purged, and free from all love and affection that is not of God, or a meane to bring thee [to] God."[23] This implies that any love of a human beloved must be in conflict with devotion to God.

However, De Sales takes a different view in his Treatise of the love of God.[24] He constantly uses examples of human love to explain God's relationship with humanity. De Sales was a Jesuit priest, who was made Bishop of Geneva. He had previously been a missionary in Savoy, and was famous for his teaching and sermons.[25] The Treatise of the Love of God was written for Jane Frances de Chantal, a widow whose spiritual advisor he had become in 1604.[26]

One of the most important ideas which De Sales discusses in the Treatise of the Love of God, and which is to be found as a theme in many other meditational texts, is that love and union are vitally linked. He asserts that "Hatred doth separate

---

[21] Lorenzo Scupoli, 1530-1610, New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 13, p. 13.

[22] New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 14, p. 5.

[23] For example Lorenzo Scupoli, The Spiritual Conflict (Rouen 1613), B4a.

[24] St Francis de Sales, A Treatise of the Love of God, trans. Miles Car (Douay, 1630).

[25] Michael de la Bedoyère, St. Francis De Sales (London, 1960), pp. 56-66.

[26] St Francis de Sales, 1567-1622, New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 6, pp. 34-6. See also Francis Trochu, St. Francis De Sales, 2 vols. (Lyon, 1956).

us, and Love doth assemble us. The end then of love, is no other thing, then the union of the lover and the beloved."[27] This conviction grows out of an investigation of love, which begins with human love as the model from which he draws analogies to Divine love. Like Prudentius and Crashaw, he uses the method of Christ's teaching, as reported in the Gospels, and uses practical examples to explain complex theological concepts. In Chapter 10 of the first book, he uses the relationships of union between members of a family to explain how love by nature produces union.[28] De Sales moves between human example and divine theory, and always grounds spiritual ideas in human experience.

This is most striking in his description of sexual and religious ecstasy as essentially similar. Both are types of union, brought about by love. Following "the auncient philosophers", De Sales describes both spiritual and sexual union as ecstasy. He explains that either experience may produce the same state: "because an Ecstacie is no other thing then a going out of ones selfe, whether one goe upwards or downewards, he is truely in an Ecstacie."[29] Going up refers to "divine pleasures" and down to sex. Since the latter is described as an animal instinct it is even more remarkable that the two experiences should not only be seen as equally potent, but exactly comparable.

The writers are united in the view that humans should love God because he is loving and essentially good. This unanimity probably derives from the enormous influence of the writing of St. Thomas Aquinas on Catholic devotion. From the

---

[27] De Sales, p. 35.

[28] De Sales, p. 36.

[29] De Sales, p. 39.

fifteenth century onwards a revival of Thomism was strong in Spain and Italy, and Alcalá was one of the universities in which it was especially influential.[30] It also proved an important influence on both the Dominican and Jesuit orders.[31] Since Puente, Molina and Granada were at Alcalá, Granada was a Dominican, and De Sales and Bellarmine were Jesuits, it is reasonable to assume that they were all influenced by Thomism. Aquinas says that God is infinitely good and provident and that he is unchanging.[32] Because God is immutable and good, it follows that his love for man is also unchanging. God does not love man because of his own goodness, nor because of any merit humanity may have, but because of the constant nature of his love.[33]

De Sales sees good as "The Source and Origine of Love",[34] and Puente states that:

> The principall propertie of goodness is, to be amiable, and by the same the Philosophers defined good saying ... Good is that which all love and desire: because it moveth our will and appetites, that wee love and desire it.[35]

It also follows that love and goodness become interrelated, since if God is good it follows that he must love himself above all things. It also disposes him to love imperfect mortals. Molina expresses gratitude that he is loved though "so miserable

---

[30] New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 14, pp. 132-133.

[31] New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 14, p. 133.

[32] Summa Theologica, I-II, 27.3.

[33] Michael J. Dodds, The Unchanging God of Love (Fribourg, 1986), pp. xv, and 278-82.

[34] De Sales, p. 29.

[35] Puente, II, p. 643.

and vile a creature, and so worthy to be abhorred and despised of him."[36] and Puente sums up the rather impersonal nature of such goodness:

> the excellency of the charitie of God, is greatly discovered herein, that he first loved us, before wee loved him: for this is a signe that he loved us, not for his owne profitt, nor yet of our meritts, but of grace, and onlie because he is good, & to solicite our love with his, and to provoke us to returne love for love.[37]

Although God may not need human love, he would nevertheless like to have it. This portrayal of divine love makes it a more recognisably human emotion than the previous impersonal benificence. Goodness is perceived here not only an end in itself, but a means of attracting love. In erotic poetry, the beauty of a woman causes men to love her, here God's goodness causes humanity to love him.

De Sales explains that it is natural for humans to love God because God implanted in us an innate facility for loving goodness and therefore him:

> This naturall inclination then which we have to love God above all things, is not left for nothing in our hearts for God of his part makes use of it as of a Handle, by which he takes hold, to draw us more sweetely unto himselfe; and it seemes the Divine Goodnesse by this impression, doth in some sort, hold our hearts tyed, as little birdes in a string, by which he can drawe us when it pleaseth his mercy to take pitie upon us: to us it is a marke and memoriall of our first Principle, and Creator, to whose love it moves us, leaving us a secret intimation, that we belong to his Divine Goodnesse.[38]

He goes on to compare this circumstance to the collar which Kings might put around the neck of a favourite hart. But this Salesian vision of divine love remains disturbing. While we may think that we love God through our desire to do so, we

---

[36] Molina, p. 89.

[37] Puente, II, p. 658.

[38] De Sales, p. 69.

are in fact being manipulated. If love is as irresistible as an entrapping net, then it is at best ambivalent, at worst menacing even in its benevolence.

Bellarmine takes a more optimistic view of human love for God, and asks: "And what is more easie pleasant and delightfull, then to love goodnesse, beautie, and excellencie it selfe, which thou art O my Lord God?".[39] For such an eminent theologian, this seems surprisingly simplistic. He works from a much more human-centred model of love as action and reaction:

> Dost thou not see my soule, how carefull that Maiesty (who needeth nothing of ours) is of his poore servantes? What could he doe more to manifest his great love then hee hath donne? he hath loaded us with Benefites, to make us stay willingly with him:... Therefore my soule yeild at last to his Love, and being overcome therewith; Mancipate and give thy selfe wholy by an irrevocable vow to his service:[40]

Both Molina and Puente see the creation as proof of love, and argue that we should love God because of the benefits caused to us. The common meditational sequence of days in a week, described above, often ends with a section specifically about the benefits of God's goodness. The previous day's meditations on sin and the dreadful penalties of hell also seem designed, at the most basic level, to give reasons for the worshipper to love God, if only because they will be better off than if they do not.

Puente attributes to God a generosity that surpasses a human model of love in exchange for benefit. "The infinite charitie of almighty God, doth not content it selfe to love us, but also greatly desireth to be loved of us, not for his owne profit, but for ours."[41]

---

[39] Bellarmine, p. 36.

[40] Bellarmine, p. 328.

[41] Puente II, p. 664.

The greatest evidence of God's love is the institution of the Eucharist. This is a particularly important theme in the meditational writing of Louis de Granada. Granada was a Dominican writer who was also part of the school of humanist writers at Alcalá. Having been a renowned preacher in the area of Cordoba, he became confessor to Queen Catherine of Portugal, the sister of The Emperor Charles V.[42] He was especially renowned for writings on the practise of prayer, and is thought to have been an influence on St Teresa of Avila.[43] The original Libro de la Oracion̄ y Meditacion̄ was published in 1544, and despite being investigated twice by the Inquisition, his works were ultimately approved by Pope Pius IV.[44]

With a few alterations, his works were also available to English, protestant readers. A "Protestant" version of Granada's Of Prayer and Meditation, was printed in London in 1592.[45] This used the same basic translation as that of the earlier Paris edition,[46] but rearranged the order of some of the meditations to make it acceptable to non-Catholic readers.

Granada explains that God's love was made evident at the Last Supper:

> For at that time he bestowed greater benefits upon them, [the disciples] and discovered unto them great pledges and tokens of his love: among the which singuler pledges, one of the most principall,

---

[42] E. Allison Peers, Studies of the Spanish Mystics, 2nd. edn. (London, 1952), I, pp. 28-9.

[43] Luis De Granada, 1504-1588, New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 8, pp. 1021-2.

[44] R.L. Oechslin, Louis of Granada (London, 1962), pp. 33-4.

[45] Luis De Granada, Of Prayer and Meditation, trans. Richard Hopkins (London, 1592).

[46] Luis De Granada, Of Prayer and Meditation, trans. Richard Hopkins (Paris, 1582).

was the institution of the blessed Supper.[47]

Again, this is explained by using a human analogue for love. It is not surprising that the image of Christ as the Bridegroom of the Song of Songs is used. The sacrament is portrayed as a kind of keepsake,[48] left as "some companie to his Spouse, that she might not remaine solitary and comfortlesse."[49] It is also described as a kind of love potion to ensure the woman's love.

> This heavenlie Bridegroome, desired also to be beloved of his Spouse with a passing great love, & therefore he ordained this divine and mysticall morsell, consecrated with such wordes, that whosoever receaveth it worthily, is foorth-with touched and stricken with his love.[50]

This seems to locate the Eucharist as part of the courtly Romance tradition, rather than ecclesiastical ritual. The movement away from sacred allegory and towards the secular tradition is completed as an extended metaphor becomes a full-scale fable. Granada compares the gift of the sacrament to the courtship of a peasant girl (humanity), by a prince. She is poor, beautiful, and honest, but is "coldly affected" towards the Prince. So he buys her a "precious morsell", and, dazzled by its beauty, she accepts his love. The sacrament has now been changed into a metaphorical jewel with which God seduces humanity. Like de Sales, Granada uses fables and allegories taken from human life. This is probably for a similar reason, since Granada was also famed for his ability to preach. Both writers shared the same

---

[47] Luis De Granada, Of Prayer and Meditation, trans. Richard Hopkins (London, 1602), p. 400.

[48] For discussion of Zwingli's likening of the sacrament to a wedding ring, see William Schullenberger, "The Word of Reform and the Politics of the Eucharist," George Herbert Journal, 13 (1989), 19-36, (p. 28).

[49] Granada, p. 403.

[50] Granada, p. 404.

missionary zeal to convince their listeners. De Sales had worked as a missionary and held debates with the Calvinists of the Chablais,[51] and Granada had worked in the area of Cordoba in the 1530s[52] which was only forty years after the reconquest of the province of Granada from the Moors.

The section ends with a disarmingly honest summary by the writer of his attitude to the gift of the Eucharist, which still calls on the resource of human courtship:

> There is no one thing that declareth the affection of love more evidently, then when a man hath a desire to be beloved. Considering therfore that thou hast beene so greatly desirous of our love, that thou hast sought it with such strange inventions: who shall from henceforth stand in doubt of thy love?[53]

The sacrament is perceived as the strongest proof of love given to man because of the element of sacrifice involved in it. Granada again relates it to human experience and uses the image of a starving mother, who nevertheless sacrifices herself so that her child may live. Thus Christ is associated with the primal female bond of mother and child, and the sacrifice of the cross is seen as at once super-human in its generosity, but as an understandable human emotion:

> For this cause therefore hee instituted this divine sacrament, that by means thereof the soules might be united and incorporated with Christ: and that with such a strong bond of love, that of them two, there should be made one thing.[54]

He affirms De Sales' conviction that the Eucharist is a rite of unification.

---

[51] New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 6, p. 34

[52] Oechslin, p. 25.

[53] Granada, p. 406.

[54] Granada, p. 407.

Granada's conviction of God's beneficent love also leads him to have confidence in a mutual union between God and humanity:

> Certaine I am ... that if I love thee, thou also lovest mee; and certaine I am also, that I need not seeke any inventions to allure thy heart to love me, as thou hast sought to allure my hart to love thee.[55]

Puente, who was trained in the same theological traditions as Granada, also declares: "O beloved of my soule, if thou doe love me as thine I saye unto thee, that I doe love thee as myne."[56] Bellarmine cannot envisage any obstacle to a relationship of love between human and divine. As might be expected from a writer used to proving his points in controversial arguments, he cites the Bible[57] as evidence for this:

> Seeke after that happinesse, and thou mayst assuredly attaine to it, love the Lord Jesus Christ with all thy hart ... for he hath said in his Gospell: *He that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and manifest my selfe to him.*[58]

De Sales is convinced that divine love is always available to man, and that love is as freely given by God as milk to an infant. Christ takes on the role of mother as, although male, he can provide miraculous sustenance from "his papes, which abounde in a varietie of sweetnesse and delightes."[59] De Sales insists that:

> God is innocent to the innocent, Good to the good, cordiall to the cordiall, tender towards such as are tender, and his love makes him often times use certaine sacred and dainty devises towards the holy soules, which out of a loving puritie, and simplicitie behave

---

[55] Granada, p. 406.

[56] Puente, p. 73.

[57] John, xiv, 21.

[58] Bellarmine, p. 146

[59] De Sales, p. 270.

themselves as little children around him.[60]

De Sales again produces a childlike vision of the relationship between man and God. It is uncomplicated in its causality, and confident of rewards for the worshipper. His writing is full of images of women, especially when he describes the love between God and humanity.[61] De Sales was attracted to the experience of women because of their role not only as providers of motherly love, but also as those who have been the passive recipients of love or suffering. It is also likely that he chose images with which a woman might identify because the book had originally been written for Madame de Chantal.

Just as Martz had noted a remarkable similarity in the meditational practice of these writers, so their ideas on love also prove to be very similar. They all share the conviction that God's love is freely available to humanity. The influence of Thomism is also felt in their agreement in the benificent nature of God as a supremely good and loving being. They are also united in a belief that we ought, therefore, to love God in return.

They assert that, although God does not need human love in the way humanity needs his, we should nevertheless love God. De Sales insists that we should love God simply because he loves us, and because love naturally tends to union. He and Granada also use human affection and family relationships as models for the love between mortals and the divine. Others, like Bellarmine, suggest that God should be loved because of the enormous benefits he provides for humanity,

---

[60] De Sales, p. 767.

[61] Wendy M. Wright, "Francois de Sales: Gentleness and Civility", in The Roots of the Modern Christian Tradition, ed. E. Rozanne Elder (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1984) pp. 124-144. (pp. 138-140)

and he uses the wonders of creation as an example of these benefits. The most potent symbol of God's love is seen, by all the writers, as the crucifixion. They are united in the conviction that we should love God in gratitude for such a sacrifice.

## Section Two: The Cambridge Platonists

It was not only De Sales and other meditational writers who were convinced of the beneficence of God's love, and the mutual relationship between God and humanity. Although the Counter-Reformation writers were Roman Catholic, and the Cambridge theologians Protestant, some of the views which individual writers express on the nature of love are remarkably similar.

The "Cambridge Platonists" have become known as such because they all, with the exception of Rust, lived and worked in Cambridge in the mid-seventeenth century. It is doubtful whether they thought of themselves as a theological movement, but they all knew each other and may have discussed ideas together. Benjamin Whichcote, George Rust and John Smith were all alumni of Emmanuel College, where Smith was a pupil of Whichcote's before he moved to Queens'. Whichcote himself became Provost of King's, and Cudworth Master of Christ's, where he would have encountered More, who was made a fellow in 1639.[62]

In his sermon entitled "God is Love", George Rust assures his listeners of the love of God. If men are able to be good and to show love, then these are "forms" of the greater love that God must show:

> Wherefore, as we come to know what Faithfulness, and Veracity, and Wisedom, and other Perfections, are in God by some Resemblances of them, which we find in our selves; so if we would understand what Goodness is in God, we must reflect on our own Minds, and consider how we are affected with it. Is it not a very natural way of Deduction to infer: if there is so much Love in a Drop, in a Beam, in a Creature, then surely there is infinitely more

---

[62] H. R. McAdoo, The Spirit of Anglicanism (London, 1965), p. 83.

in the Ocean, in the Sun, in God himself.[63]

He reasons that God is "An infinite goodness", and it is a property of such goodness to love, in an almost involuntary fashion, as it is impossible for the sun not to shine.[64] Again this seems reminiscent of Aquinas, which is no accident, since apart from Plato and Plotinus, he was one of the few theologians whose teaching the Platonists valued.[65]

Cudworth adds that humanity acquires virtue and goodness because of this love:

> God who is *absolute goodnesse*, cannot love any of his Creatures & take pleasure in them, without bestowing a communication of his Goodnesse and Likenesse upon them.[66]

He suggests that in order to know how to love God in return, humanity must not become infatuated with particular lovable things, but must attempt to learn to practice the kind of universal love shown by God:

> No man is truly free, but that he hath his *will* enlarged to the extent of God's own will, by loving whatsoever God loves, and nothing else. Such a one, doth not fondly hug this and that particular created good thing, and envassal himself to it, but he loveth every thing that is lovely. ... He enjoys a boundlesse Liberty and a boundlesse Sweetnesse, according to his boundlesse Love.[67]

---

[63] George Rust, The Remains of that Reverend and Learned Prelate, Mr George Rust (London, 1686), p. 9.

[64] Rust, p. 12.

[65] C.A. Patrides, ed. The Cambridge Platonists (Cambridge, 1969), p. 5, and McAdoo, p. 141.

[66] Ralph Cudworth, A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, At Westminster, March 31, 1647 (Cambridge, 1647), p. 27.

[67] Cudworth, p. 126.

Love becomes a paradoxical state of freedom through obedience. If humans can acquire the discipline to be so obedient they will, he suggests, be free to enjoy love as a reward.

Despite this, however, Rust saw God's love as essentially impersonal, as the highest form of the Good. Thus a human who knows real love will not need to have a mutual relationship with God. He would, Rust asserts, be "even content to live in perpetual banishment from God; I mean from the sweet embraces and touches of his Love, so that he may be without sin."[68] He further explains, in an allusion to the Platonic idea of the absolute form of Goodness, that:

> true Love is abstract from this and that, Mine and Thine and His, and all such limiting and particular Circumstances, and is to be fixed upon the naked Notion of the Good and the Lovely. ... The Glory which God aims at in his actions is not the Applause of Men ... for this is too low and mean a Design to be intended by Divine Wisedom.[69]

Yet he is convinced that God loves man, and that the love demonstrated by the crucifixion is greater because God could have been contented without "such corruptible worms as we".[70]

The positive nature of God's love was vital to both Rust and Cudworth. To Rust he was "a Being neither fond or cruel"[71] who wanted only the happiness and salvation of men.[72] Like Cudworth, he is convinced that God will always love the

---

[68] Rust, p. 8.

[69] Rust, p. 11.

[70] Rust, p. 4.

[71] Rust, p. 10.

[72] Rust, p. 4.

faithful worshipper:

> But I have security beyond all legal Bonds and Obligations, that God will not deal thus arbitrariously with me; and it is the Goodness and Benignity of his nature, which assures me he will never hurt an innocent or penitent Creature.[73]

The sense of automatic mutuality in love was a persuasive one to Benjamin Whichcote. Like More, he was a fellow of Christ's, and avoided becoming embroiled in religious factions in the College by urging toleration of all strands of religious opinion.[74] He has been seen as More's mentor,[75] and both men strove to portray religion as a uniting, rather than divisive force:

> We stand nearer related to God, than we do to anything in the World. Our *Souls* and *Bodies* are not nearer related, than our *Souls* are to *God*. God is more inward to us than our very Souls. In him we live, move, and have our Being.[76]

He asserts that love unites us with God, and raises us above earthly loyalties which might lead to faction.

The Platonists were sure that the experience of love must be an unambiguously happy one. John Smith describes "the sweet, mild, humble, and loving spirit of Jesus, which spreads itself like a Morning-Sun upon the Soules of

---

[73] Rust, p. 12.

[74] Henry More, Philosophical Poems of Henry More, ed. Geoffrey Bullough (Manchester, 1931), p. xviii.

[75] McAdoo, p. 101

[76] Benjamin Whichcote, "The Use of Reason in all Matters of Religion," in Select Sermons, ed. Anthony, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, (London, 1698), pp. 79-117.

good men, full of light and life."[77] He also uses Plato's image of the cave, which indicates the state of man in ignorance of the forms, to describe the effect of worship on the soul:

> But the higher a Christian ascends εκ του σπελαιου above this dark dungeon of the Body, the more that Religion prevails within him, the more then shall he find himself as it were in a clear heaven, in a Region that is calm and Serene; and the more will those black and dark afflictions of *Fear and Despair* vanish away, and those clear and bright affections of *Love and Joy and Hope* break forth in their strength and lustre.[78]

This serene state is contrasted with one that is far more reminiscent of the suffering of the soul bereft of love. This soul is:

> A boisterous and restless thing: a being without God, it wanders up and down the world, destitute, afflicted, tormented with vehement hunger and thirst after some satisfying Good.... while it is tossed with restless and vehement motions of *Desire* and *Love*.[79]

This description applies to "wicked and irreligious men" who do not find a good thing to love. Suffering, for Smith, is not at all a part of love.

Unlike De Sales, who conflates religious and sexual ecstasy, Smith separated love from lust. He insists that: "pure and divine joys far [excell] all sensual pleasures".[80] Heavenly love must be created in reaction to such sensuality. Cudworth also condemns as idolatrous the love of worldly pleasure, and thinks that this is a more heinous sin than creating a physical idol. He comdemns: "setting up

---

[77] John Smith, "The True Way or Method of Attaining to Divine Knowledge", in Select Discourses, 2nd. edn. (Cambridge, 1673) pp. 1-21, (p. 8).

[78] John Smith, "The Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion", in Select Discourses, p. 366-440, (p. 414)

[79] Smith, "Excellency", p. 410.

[80] Smith, "Excellency", p. 412.

that unto our selves for a God, which we love most dearly in our selves, that is, our Lusts".[81]

In "Psychathanasia Platonica", More writes that his poem: "sings of purest love, not of base passion/ That fouls the soul with filth of lawless lust".[82] "Cupid's Conflict" also deals at length with the difference between lustful love, as personified by Cupid, and divine love, which More wishes to write of. Worldly writing is also seen by More as Idolatry. At the beginning of "*Psychozoia*" he differentiates such a Platonic form of love for God from sexual love:

> Farre otherwise it fares in this same Lond
> Of Truth and Beauty, then in Mortall brood
> Of earthly lovers, who impassion'd
> With outward forms (not rightly understood
> From whence proceeds this amorous sweet flood,
> And choice delight which in their spright they feel:
> Can outward Idole yield so heavenly mood?)
> This inward beauty unto that they deel
> That little beauteous is: Thus unto th'dirt they reel.
>
> (stanza 10)

The earthly lovers are so distracted by passion, that they are unable to understand that this kind of love is idolatrous. He implies that any love of "outward forms" can never be equal to that gained through the knowledge of ideal truth and beauty.

In "Cupid's conflict", More also states another reason for rejecting earthly love for the heavenly. If he were to privilege earthly lovers over God, he would: "neglect/ All the whole world for one poore sorry wight."[83] He goes on to describe the effect of writing about God's love:

---

[81] Cudworth, p. 24.

[82] Henry More, "Psychanasthasia", Stanza 4 in Psychodia Platonica or a Platonicall Song of the Soul (Cambridge, 1642).

[83] "Cupid's Conflict", l. 122.

Then all the works of God with close embrace
I dearly hug in my enlarged arms.
All the hid paths of heavenly Love I trace
And boldly listen to his secret charms,
Then clearly view I where true light doth rise
And where eternall Night low-pressed lies.
(ll. 139-144)

This description of the power of God is an act of love from the writer, who, by considering earthly forms, intends to ascend to heavenly love.

In Psychozoia he shows his confidence in a creative God who is infinitely good. This confidence is, for More, the heart of a relationship between God and humanity:

For what can be forlorn, when his good hands
Hold all in life, that of life do partake?
O surest confidence of Loves strong bands!
Love loveth all that's made; Love all did make:
(canto I, St 7, ll 1-4)

This optimism and lack of spiritual doubt is the poetic equivalent of the ideas which Smith and Rust had expressed in their prose writings.[84]

Using the work of devotional writers and that of the Cambridge Platonists, it is possible to show that there is one major idea about divine love which recurs constantly. It is that God is infinitely loving because of his infinite goodness, and that humanity can be confident of a share in this love. Opinions do differ on how this love should be gained. Although Bellarmine thinks that such love must only be asked for to be granted, others like Cudworth and Molina feel that humanity must earn it through goodness and obedience.[85]

---

[84] See Rust, p. 12, and Smith, p. 414, and discussion above.

[85] Cudworth, p. 126, Molina, p. 86-7.

It is much more difficult to answer the question, "What kind of thing is love". Despite the taxonomies which Molina and Puente offer, the writers suggest properties rather than definitions of religious love. Many of the meditational writers, especially Granada and De Sales, use human love to create an explanation for religious love by analogy. De Sales and Bellarmine even appear to conflate sexual love with non-sensual affection. Others, like Scupoli, Cudworth, Smith and More reject human sensuality, as having no place in divine worship.

Yet even if neither the Platonists nor the meditational writers are able to reach a stable definition of divine love the images which all of these writers use in an attempt to describe love must have provided a valuable resource for Crashaw. Images of the mother providing for her children, of God feeding humanity, of the divine as feminine, were all to appear in Crashaw's own poetry. But the image of divine love which Crashaw was to draw upon most frequently was not one of the former, positive ideas, but that of Christ as suffering lover. He must also have found images of divine suffering in meditational literature, as I shall show in the next section.

Section Three: Meditations on Suffering

Consideration of the crucifixion was central to the writing of meditational authors, since it provided the most important example of the unity of love and suffering. St. Francis de Sales calls the suffering of the crucifixion: "the sweetest and yet most violent motive, that can animate this mortall life."[86] He asserts that:

> Theo, the mount of Calvarie is the mount of Lovers. All love that begins not from our Saviours Passion, is frivolous, and dangerous. Accursed is death, without the Love of our Saviour. Accursed is Love without the death of our Saviour. Love and death are so mingled in the passion of our Saviour, that one cannot have the one in his heart without the other.[87]

The language of this passage emphasises the mutual relationship of love between God and humanity, but stresses also the equation between love and pain needed to achieve this union.

Many meditational writers, such De Sales, believed that human desire for God may involve pain, but that if a worshipper has faith that love will be requited, then suffering may be beneficial:

> This desire is just, Theo: for who would not desire so desirable a good? But this desire would be unprofitable, yea would be a continuall torment to our heart, if we had not the assurance that we should at length satiate it.[88]

Puente describes how, despite knowing of the suffering to come, Christ hurried to Jerusalem for the last time:

> Manifesting by his hastie pace, the force of divine love, which is like unto fyre, and to a prick, or spur, that enforceth to make hast, and to

---

[86] De Sales, p. 788.

[87] De Sales, p. 789.

[88] De Sales, p. 134.

> runne with fervor to that obedience which is most painfull to the flesh, but most agreeable to almightie God.[89]

He asserts that, while love causes bodily pain, it is spiritually beneficial. He uses the incarnate Christ as an example, and implies that pain may bring humanity closer to God.

The crucifixion is also seen as the greatest possible proof of God's love. Alcántara exhorts his readers: "Sometimes let us kindle in our souls an ardent affection, considering his great affection towards us, which upon the Crosse he declared and manifested to the whole world."[90] Ignatian techniques of meditation encourage the worshipper to imagine every detail of the experience that Christ endured, the better to appreciate the magnitude of his sacrifice. Granada's instructions are typical:

> Lyft up the eyes of thy soule and see thy Saviour hanging uppon the Crosse; consider all the woundes and paynes, that the Lord of Majestie suffereth for thy sake; ... Behold that most innocent body of thy Saviour and Redeemer, all of a gore, bloud and so many woundes and bruses in all partes of him?[91]

Puente's detailed portrayal of Christ's suffering becomes almost macabre. He forces the reader to consider pain in such detail that we are compelled to imagine Christ as a suffering man, not as a deathless god. This passage, for example, describes the stripping of Christ for the cross:

> It is verie credible, that his shirt stuck fast to his flead and bloudy skinne, in so much that they were faine to teare it off by plaine force,

---

[89] Puente, II, p. 37.

[90] Alcántara, p. 53.

[91] Granada, p. 363.

plucking away therwith the flesh and skinne.[92]

Like Crashaw's "On our crucified Lord", this compels the reader to see the physical signs of horrific pain. But Puente's appalling matter-of-fact tone does not even provide the artistic relief of Crashaw's images. We are not even allowed the distraction of unpacking the metaphor of the bloody robe, as we are forced to contemplate the pain of flesh being torn from a body.

Some meditational writers of the counter-Reformation seem almost to be inspired by the pain of the crucifixion. Yet this reaction is not common to all devotional writers. St. Bernard of Clairvaux was awed by the enormity of Christ's love. Although his Meditations were originally written in the twelfth century, they were widely reprinted and read in the seventeenth century. It is also clear that Bernard's work was to be an important influence on Crashaw. Bernard's theology stressed the centrality of divine love, and the proofs of that love in the incarnation and redemption. He also emphasises the importance of the blessed Virgin Mary, as a proof of God's love for man, and as mother of God.[93] Many of the sentiments expressed by St. Bernard seem to prefigure Crashaw, both in his stress on the unity of love and suffering, and on the importance of the Virgin.[94] The first English translation of the Meditations was published in 1496 by Wynkyn de Worde, and translated by "a student of Cambrydge". The second edition, however did not appear until 1608, but was again translated by "W.P. master of Arts at Cambridge."

---

[92] Puente, II, p. 258.

[93] St. Bernard of Clairvaux, 1090-1153. New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 2, pp. 335-8. See also W.W. Williams, St. Bernard of Clairvaux (Westminster, Maryland, 1952), J. Calmette and H. David, St. Bernard (Paris, 1953).

[94] For discussion of Crashaw's veneration of the Virgin Mary, see chapter six.

Thus it seems that Bernard's meditations must have been read in the University. It is likely that Crashaw would have studied them, since at least one copy of St. Bernard's meditations was in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge when Crashaw was an undergraduate,[95] and his father is also known to have owned a copy.[96]

Bernard's work also seems to have been associated with the Laudian faction. The printer who originally produced the 1608 edition was T. Creede, who produced various theological works. For example, in the same year as this edition of St. Bernard, he printed John Craig's Catechism and Meditation on the Penitential Psalms, Robert Richie's A Very Goodlie Sermon of Man's Mortalitie, Lucas Trelcatius' A Briefe Institution of the Commonplaces of Devotion, and Thomas Tuke's The True Trial of a Sinner. However, in 1631 the copyright for the work was tranfered to R. Allot, from J. Budge who had since acquired it. Allot, like Budge and Creede before him was primarily a publisher of theological works, but several other books published in 1631 are of a discernably Laudian and royalist nature. Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, whose The Practise of Piety[97] Allot publishes, had been chaplain to the King and Prince Henry,[98] as Hakewill[99] had to

---

[95] Wren, Memoriae, lists gifts made to the library before 1617. In the index it mentions "Meditationes Bernardi". The catalogue does not deal with books already held, which were not given as gifts, and thus we have no way of assessing the full stock of the library.

[96] Sabine, Feminine Engendered Faith, p. 173.

[97] Lewis Bayley, The Practise of Pietie (London, 1631).

[98] DNB, 1, pp. 368-9.

[99] George Hakewill, A Sermon Preached at Barnstaple (London, 1632).

Prince Charles, before disagreeing with the Spanish marriage negotiations.[100] Sanderson,[101] whose book Allot publised the following year, was to be appointed Regius professor of divinity at Oxford in 1642, and was the future Charles II's favourite preacher.[102] Allot also took part in disseminating information about the controversy over the nature and placing of altars. Heylyn[103] was to have Antidotum Lincolniense published by Allot, which was a Laudian defense of venerating the altar. He was a notable protegé of Laud's and supporter of Bellarmine and Catholicism.[104] Denison's The Heavenly Banquet,[105] is a justification of kneeling before the altar. The other side of the debate is also represented by Miles Smith[106] who was a notable opponent of Laud's on this and many other issues. He is, however, heavily outnumbered by the Laudians. In company with these texts, Bernard's Meditations acquire a partisan significance which might not be apparent merely from their content.

St. Bernard sees Christ's sacrifice as reason for humanity to love God. Yet at the same time, any comparable suffering is clearly beyond the reach of a human worshipper, and thus emphasises the difference between human and divine. Although he does not go into horrific detail, St. Bernard's response to Christ's

---

[100] DNB, 8, p. 891.

[101] Robert Sanderson, Twelve Sermons (London, 1632).

[102] DNB, 17, p. 754.

[103] Peter Heylyn, Microcosmos (London, 1631), and Antidotum Lincolniense (London, 1637)

[104] DNB, 9, pp. 770-1

[105] John Denison, The Heavenly Banquet (London, 1631).

[106] Miles Smith, Sermons (London, 1632).

sacrifice is eloquent if incredulous:

> Oh my blessed Saviour and loving Redeemer, what did move thee to sustaine such a heavie burthen of afflictions? What was the cause that thou didst submit thy selfe to so many miseries? I know my most gracious lord, it did flow from the fountaine of thy unmesurable love.[107]

The boundlessness of His sacrificial love also is stressed by Puente in his consideration of the crucifixion. He seeks to emulate the way that Christ loved his disciples, "with an excessive love, and without limitt, and to the highest degree that love can arrive, doing and suffering for them all he could."[108] Bernard is sufficiently impressed with the idea that Christ's love is "unmeasurable", but for Puente it seems to bear a direct comparison with the amount of pain inflicted:

> If thou receivedst five thousand stripes, thou hadst the love to receive other five thousand millions, much more cruell. ... If thou wert nayled three houres to the Crosse with excessive dolors, thou wast prepared to be nayled millions of houres thereon, and that with many greater torments.... O who may give me so insatiable a love, as never would be satisfied with suffring, for him who suffered so much for me with so insatiable love.[109]

The repetition of incomprehensibly large numbers is reminiscent of the common meditation about the suffering of the damned. Granada says that, because of their sins, they suffer "not for the space of one night alone, nor a thousand nights, but for ever, and ever, during infinite worldes."[110] Here, Puente's stress on the super-human scale of suffering seems to create a similarly large gap between human and

---

[107] St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St Bernard, His Meditations (London, 1631), p. 219.

[108] Puente, II, p. 73.

[109] Puente, II, p. 26.

[110] Granada, p. 252. See also pp. 255-6.

divine experience. The consideration of Christ as a wounded man emphasises his humanity, yet the paradox of incarnate divinity is made clear in this celebration of excess. The prayer in which the writer asks for "so insatiable a love" seems, as a result somewhat rhetorical in tone. It seems to have been made clear that such a love could never be possible for a mortal.

The comprehension of indefinable quantities seems crucial to Puente's understanding of divine love. He exclaims:

> O that I could find out and comprehend the length and the breadth, the hight and the deepths of the charitie of JESUS! O that I could enter into his enflamed hart and see the furnace of infinit fire that burneth therein, and to melt in those flames, that issuing forth full of love, I might love as I am loved, and to suffer with love, for him who suffered for me, with so great love.[111]

This sounds a less rhetorical aspiration. Man may not be able to suffer with super-human endurance, but can know how it feels to experience pain. Here, the ability to love fully seems bound to suffering, as the flame not only connotes passion, but also pain.

It seems that only as a result of unattainable suffering could humanity learn a love which might truly create a union with the divine. Bernard shows a very similar aspiration, as he prays:

> Set such a deepe stampe of thy love in my heart that the print may never be raced out, but abide in it for ever; yea, so wound my heart and thy sweetest love, that all my desires may be turned towards thee, and that I may finde no ease, but when I think upon thee.[112]

Here love is not only the cause of pain, but its cure. Like De Sales' "handle", love

---

[111] Puente, II, p. 25.

[112] Bernard, p. 105.

is perceived as a kind of brand on the heart, which enforces adoration.

Because these meditations are not primarily designed as a didactic manual, they are "confessional" in tone. Perhaps writers of meditational manuals did not admit that it might be difficult to achieve God's love because such an admission might have been thought to undermine the reader's confidence in the instructor. For whatever reason, Bernard does not share the confidence in the connection of desire and fulfilment shown by the didactic writers like Granada and Puente. Like De Sales, however, Bernard emphasises the importance of love as part of God's nature, often describing Christ as "my most loving Lord." But he admits that: "My thoughts cannot measure the greatness of thy love."[113] Though he does celebrate the love of God, he concedes that meditation can at times be almost impossibly difficult for him:

> I doe oftentimes purpose with my selfe to meditate on thy Passion, and to thinke seriously upon thine affliction. ... But (alas) my senses are replenished with such stupidity and dulnesse, that I am not touched with any sensible compassion, because my understanding is distempred with vaine and fond cogitations, and my heart is become so hard, that it is inapt to conceive any tender affection ... I cannot taste the sweetnesse, I cannot relish the goodnesse of thy passion, because the matter is tedious to my corrupted thoughts, and unpleasant to my carnall desires. ... But from whence, oh Lord, doe these noysome weeds grow up in my heart? How is it that they finde such a fertile soile in my minde? Truely, because my heart is not planted with thy love.[114]

He is unable to share the simple faith of De Sales that Love will be given to him as a right. De Sales often uses the language of the canticles to express his love for

---

[113] Bernard, p. 70.

[114] Bernard, pp. 226-7.

God.[115] Bernard here uses the same linguistic resource, but to a very different effect, as he takes on the role of the female beloved longing for her spouse:

> And what do I crave more, what doe I covet so much, as that my Jesus may dwell and remaine in mee? Oh how happy were my state, how blessed were my condition if I could truely say, *My beloved (as a bundle of Myrrh to me) will remaine between my brests.*
>
> If I could imbrace my beloved Jesus I would hold him fast betwixt mine armes ... his presence should be my pleasure in the day; his societie should be my solace in the night. Kindle my reins, oh most loving Jesus, with the burning sparkles of thy love ... so that I may long after thee alone, my deere beloved Christ Jesus.[116]

The tone of certainty in the Song of Songs has been changed to one of frustrated desire. This tone of enforced passivity shows his awareness that humanity must wait to be accorded love, and that any exclusion from it causes intense suffering. Though he expresses a desire to show love, he concludes that this is impossible because he is insufficiently loving. Only the unattainable beloved, Christ, is able to change this by means of love.

Granada agrees that any loss of God's love would involve terrible suffering:

> Considering that the Almightie God is an infinite good thing, & the greatest of all good thinges, it followeth necessarily, that that wanting of him shall be an infinite miserie, and the greatest of all miseries.[117]

Bernard expresses a very similar sense of loss, yet other writers seem to argue that this should not be so. De Sales implies that faith in salvation should end any agony,[118] and Granada's account is part of a description of the pain of loss at

---

[115] For example, De Sales, p. 134.

[116] Bernard, p. 107.

[117] Granada, p. 282.

[118] De Sales, p. 134.

separation from God, which the damned feel in hell. This is perhaps where didactic texts and those which are a personal record of experience differ most crucially. Though the meditational writers imply that doubts should not torment the faithful, Bernard has nevertheless found himself disturbed by them. Like Bernard, Crashaw may have been aware that his own sense of torment ought not to have been felt by a believer, but it is undeniably acute. Like Bernard, this realisation of the conflict of doubt with his professed faith seems to add to its potential to cause pain.

In a passage highly reminiscent of Crashaw, Bernard expresses what Puente leaves implicit, that feeling part of a union with God, even when meditating on the passion, may be supremely difficult:

> Oh no, returne, returne, my bleeding Soule, unto thy wonted tendernesse: if thy savior bleed, hast thou no blud at all to shed; if his hart faint under the painefull crosse, be thou already dead in heart to see his bitter pangs; thus shalt thou helpe indeed to ease his griefe, and (all other meanes denied) adde some comfort to his sad soule by participating with him in his unconscionable sorrow.[119]

The conceit that he could somehow help Christ by mentally sharing his suffering is appealing for a writer who seeks to be united with God. However, his failure seems almost foreshadowed by the pathetic aside of "all other means denied". Without help he is unable to achieve such sympathetic pain and appeals:

> O let the sweet dew of thy infinite mercie, distill downe upon my head: yea rather let it bee infused into my heart, that it may mollifie the hardnesse of mine *affections*, moisten the drinesse of my bowels, and fructifie my minde with the fruits of thy love, because I cannot, yea rather, because I am unwilling to suffer with thee, and love thee so little, who have alwaies loved mee so much ... Alas mine eies are dry without *teares*, my kinde Jesu, my *heart* is so dead, that it cannot breath forth any heavie groans.[120]

---

[119] Bernard, p. 287.

[120] Bernard, pp. 315-6.

Here Bernard shows how hard it may be for a human to share, even imaginatively, in the suffering of Christ. Bernard's failure to imagine physical suffering causes him mental anguish.

The meditational writers all perceive that there is an important link between love and suffering. Many, like de Sales and Puente, consider that the Crucifixion demonstrated the ultimate form of sacrificial love. Using the suffering of Christ as his example, Puente seeks to share in the pain of the cross, in order to show his love for God. De Sales agrees that the crucifixion must be the inspiration for all humanity's love for the divine. Yet, in their emphasis on the enormity of Christ's agony, writers like Puente, and especially St. Bernard, also encounter the problem that no human can aspire to such a scale of suffering. Thus any union of love with God is almost impossible. The best humans can hope for, it seems, is to contemplate Christ's suffering in almost macabre detail, in the hope that it will increase their love for God.

St. Bernard also asks to be allowed to share in a union of pain, and his suffering is redoubled because he is unable to achieve this. He feels agony at his separation from God, and attributes his inability to discover God's love to his own failings and sinfulness. Unlike all the didactic writers, he is not certain that his love for God must be a pleasant state, nor is he sure, as they are, that it is easy to achieve God's love. It is notable that it is with the more ancient rather than with contemporary meditational writers that Crashaw's sympathies appear to lie. By choosing Bernard as an influence, Crashaw again shows a tendency to look back to the remote past for his inspiration, as he had done in his use of Prudentius and Ovid. Like Bernard, Crashaw was also far from certain that he would be able to achieve a mutual relationship of love with God. St. Bernard had pleaded with God

to be allowed some help in his struggles adequately to worship him. As we shall see, Crashaw was to make such requests, not only of Christ, but of St. Teresa and the Virgin Mary, for help in his struggles to feel and write of God's love.

## Chapter Six: "Illum ut *ego* rogitem?" Addressing God through Saintly mediators

Meditational writers such as De Sales and Scupoli addressed their advice on devotion to women, and it may have been as a result of their influence that Crashaw had also written to women in "On a Prayer Book", and "On Mr Herbert's Book". By writing to earthly women, Crashaw was able to integrate human love into his exploration of the way in which a mortal might aspire to the love of God. Yet, as I argued in chapter three, this still left him at a distance from such intimacy. As St. Bernard had shown, any attempt by a human, whether male or female, to gain intimacy with God could be terrifying and extremely difficult. Mortal women were not to prove a powerful enough vehicle for Crashaw's attempts to reach God, since they were human, and thus could not be assumed to have any closer bond with, or understanding of, God than the poet himself.

Throughout his poetry Crashaw was to make use of what Antony Low calls "devotional intermediaries and mediators".[1] These were sometimes mortal women, like Mrs M.R., the un-named recipient of Mr Herbert's book, or the Countess of Denbigh. Through them he could imagine what the experience of sharing God's love might be like: but he always remained at a distance from it himself. In this sense mortal women were intermediaries for his devotion, since they stood, metaphorically, between the writer and the love of God. Yet these women could not hope ultimately to intercede for Crashaw, simply because of their mortality. As Bernard and Puente had both shown, no human could hope to match the greatest act of love made by God, that is the sacrifice of the crucifixion, since no human could have born the enormous pain. Thus, if Crashaw chose to write about others'

---

[1] Low, Reinvention of Love, p. 130.

experience of divine love, it was necessary to discover a mediator who could sympathise with humanity, but who could bear the super-human pain to match that of the crucified Christ. He also required a being who was able actively to intercede with God on his behalf. The only possible intermediary, then, was a Saint.

In this chapter I shall be discussing how he used saintly women, such as St. Teresa of Avila and The Virgin Mary, as mediators as well as intermediaries. That is, as those whose experience of divine love not only stands for, or instead of, that of the writer, but who could, through their intercession, confer divine love on him. Unlike mortal women, Crashaw believes that these saintly women have the power to help him achieve divine love.

His poems to Mary and St. Teresa also made a clear statement not only of his personal devotional procedures, but of his allegiance to Laudian practice in 1640s Cambridge. George Herbert had also been at Cambridge, but he expresses a view about the veneration of saints which is markedly different from Crashaw's. His reluctance to venerate saints would have represented the orthodoxy in Cambridge of the 1610s, where Calvinist doctrine was dominant.[2] In "To all Angels and Saints" he had found it impossible to allow himself to venerate The Virgin Mary or the Saints. He admits that:

> I would addresse
> My vows to thee most gladly, blessed Maid,
> And mother of my God, in my distresse.
>
> (ll. 9-11)

But feels that he dare not because of the prohibition by "our King". The ambiguity

---

[2] Nicholas Tyacke, The Anti-Calvinists (Oxford, 1987), p. 29.

inherent in "king", which could refer to the earthly or heavenly ruler, allows Herbert to emphasise how interrelated religious and political debates were in the early seventeenth century.

Indeed, in 1624 Richard Montagu, a moderate theologian, caused outrage when he wrote a book in which he expressed the view that the intercession of saints was perfectly proper in Protestant religion.[3] He was denounced by Parliament, but was supported by King James I, and by William Laud, who was later to become Archbishop of Canterbury. Despite this the following year Montagu was forced to publish Appelo Caesarem, to clear his name, in which he declared: "I am no *Calvinist*, no *Lutheran*; but a *Christian*".[4]

By the 1630s and '40s, as we have seen, the doctrinal situation had changed markedly. By openly venerating saints in his poetry Crashaw immediately associated himself with the Laudian faction in Cambridge.[5] Laudians were accused of "giving worship to Saints and Angels, Altars and Images, of godly men, Confessors and Martyrs".[6] William Forbes, declared

> Vetustissima consuetudo in universali Ecclesia tam Graeca quam Latina recepta Angelos & Sanctos ... ne ut impia neque etiam ut vana & stulta a Rigidioribus Protestantes damnetur aut rejiciatur.

"Let not the most ancient custom, common in the Universal Church, whether Greek or Latin of addressing Angels and Saints ... be condemned or rejected, as impious,

---

[3] Richard Montagu, An Immediate Addresse unto God Alone (London, 1624), p. 226-7.

[4] Richard Montagu, Appello Caesarem (London, 1625), p. 45.

[5] For discussion of terminology used, see below.

[6] Peter Smart, Canterburies Cruelty (London, 1643).

or as vain and foolish as it is by the more rigid Protestants."[7] Forbes, who was noted for his attempt to reconcile Catholic ideas with those of Protestantism, and who favoured Episcopacy, was unpopular with Scottish Presbyterians. However, a sermon which he preached before Charles I in 1633 so delighted the King that Forbes was especially created Bishop of Edinburgh.[8]

Crashaw repeatedly used saints as intermediate agencies in his own divine poems. The evidence of the epigrams suggests that he chose to do this because the idea of addressing God directly was a daunting prospect. The epigram "Non Dico Me Rogaturum" expresses terror when the poet contemplates speaking to God on his own behalf. Christ himself is portrayed reassuring his hearers (presumably mortal) of God's love for them:

> Ille suos omni facie in te figit amores;
> Inque tuos toto effundit ore sinus.
> (ll. 3-4)

> He fixes his love on you with every look
> and he pours every word into your embrace.

Despite such reassurance that God's love enables anyone to address Him, love alone is not enough to inspire a worshipper's confidence. The speaker's tone is one of despair:

> Illum ut *ego* rogitem? Hoc (eheu) non ore rogandum;
> Ore satis puras non faciente preces.
> (ll. 13-14)

> Should *I* ask him? Alas, I must not ask him with this
> mouth; With a mouth that does not make prayers pure enough.

The speaker expresses terror at the enormous power of God to hurt him if he should

---

[7] William Forbes, Considerationes Modestae (Edinburgh, 1658), p. 341.

[8] DNB, Vol.3, p. 169.

say the wrong thing. His solution to this problem is one which is to be vital to the development of his later poetry. He decides that the only way he dare approach God is through a third party, which, in this poem is Christ:

> Immo rogabo: nec ore meo tamen: Immo rogabo
> Ore meo (Jesu) scilicet *ore tuo.*
>
> (ll. 23-4)

> Yes, I shall ask: however not with my mouth: yes I shall ask, with my mouth, Jesus, that is *With your mouth.*

Just as Christ and the father whom he petitions are one being in the Trinity, so Crashaw and Christ become one in this act of petitioning. The paradox inherent in the epigram, and in the method which Crashaw adapts to speaks with God is that it is only by distancing himself from the beloved object that he can achieve any intimacy with him. As Bernard had found, it is only with the help of God that a human can aspire to love Him.

## Section one: St. Teresa of Avila

In "Non Dico Me Rogaturum", Crashaw portrayed himself as borrowing Christ's voice. In his English poems, however, he chose other intermediaries, and the most notable were St. Teresa and the Blessed Virgin. Parry suggests that Crashaw's aim in writing such poetry was to emulate those saints whose love for Christ had been fulfilled, especially Teresa.[9] St. Teresa of Avila was particularly attractive to Crashaw because she was not only a saint, but also a writer. The manner of her encounter with divine love also made her especially valuable to him, since she had suffered intense, if ecstatic, pain in order to experience divine love.

In his consideration of Teresa's writing, Crashaw declares that from her work: "[he] learnt to know that love is eloquence".[10] He not only reads Teresa's text, but produces a new one of his own to celebrate her successful relationship of love with God. His use of another text as a form of inspiration is not confined to his discussion of Teresa's writing. He had made clear how earlier erotic language provided a basis for his own Latin writing. In his English poems we can also see how he adapts his own discourse through the agency of other texts, whether they are the Bible, the Prayer Book, Ancient Hymns of the Church, St. Teresa's works, or other poems like Marino's Sospetto d'Herode or Herbert's Temple.[11] His references

---

[9] Graham Parry, Seventeenth Century Poetry (London, 1985), pp. 140-1.

[10] "An Apologie for the Precedent Hymne", l. 8.

[11] Louis R. Barbarto, "Crashaw, Marino and *Sospetto d'Herode*," Philological Quarterly, 54 (1975), 522-7.

to these works exhibit far more than inevitable intertextuality,[12] since they seem to provide conduits through which Crashaw can learn about divine love. This process is especially apparent in relation to Teresa's Vida.

In the "Apologie for the Precedent Hymn" (to St. Teresa), Crashaw wrote:

> What soule so e'er, in any Language, can
> Speake heav'n like hers is my soules country-man.
> (ll. 21-2)

In Carmen Deo Nostro, the poem is entitled "An Apologie for the fore-going Hymne as having been writt when the author was yet among the protestantes". In the 1646 Steps to the Temple there is no mention of Protestantism, and as Healy points out,[13] what Crashaw is "apologising" for is writing about a Spanish saint. He justifies himself ably by asserting a kinship of understanding which transcends national languages but emphasises common means of communication. In the 1630s "country-man" could mean someone from the same district, as well as state,[14] thus Crashaw seems already to be reducing national diversities into one language of love. He also uses Teresa's experience as a way of merging eroticism and religious ecstasy. In her Vida, Teresa describes a dream in which she is pierced by an angel's arrow:

> It pleased our Blessed Lord, that I should have sometimes, this following vision. I saw an Angell very neer me ... I saw, that he had a long Dart of gold in his hand; and at the end of the iron below, me thought, there was a little fire; and I conceaved that he thrust it, some severall times, through my verie hart, after such a manner, that it passed the very inwards of my Bowells; and when he drew it back,

---

[12] For discussion of influence and intertextuality, see Thomas M. Greene, The Light in Troy, (New Haven, 1982), p. 16.

[13] Healy, Crashaw, p. 7.

[14] See OED.

> me thought, it carried away, as much, as it had touched within me; and left all that, which remained, wholly inflamed with a great love of Almightie God. The paine of it, was so excessive, that it forced me to utter those groanes; and the suavitie, which that extreme of paine gave, was also so very excessive, that there was no desiring at all, to be ridd of it; nor can the Soule then, receave anie contentment at all, in lesse, then God Almightie himself.[15]

She is an inspiration for Crashaw, as an originator of a language which can "speak heav'n". The experience of her wounding is ecstatic and wounds become a means of communicating love between God and humanity. She is able, like the Prudentian martyrs, to bear immense pain. Unlike ordinary humans, who cannot endure such agony, she can approach an understanding of Christ's pain, though her own. This allows her to pay back to God some of the human debt of suffering, an action which Puente and Bernard had aspired to but could not achieve. This at least provides hope that a mortal like Crashaw may be able to experience at least a small part of such love, with the help of the saint who has endured so much.

Crashaw treats this incident in "The Flaming Heart". The readers are immediately instructed to change their perception of what they think they see:

> You must transpose the picture quite,
> And spell it wrong to read it right;
> Read HIM for her, and her for him;
> And call the SAINT the SERAPHIM.
> (ll. 9-12)

The poetic conceit which frames the poem is that the artist has painted the picture wrongly. Indeed Crashaw even seems to contradict Teresa's own account in which she is the object of the angel's assault. In this context Teresa becomes a female Cupid, and the angel takes her veil: "that he may cover/ the red cheeks of a rivall'd lover". These conceits are not an end in themselves, but point to a more profound

---

[15] St. Teresa of Avila, The Flaming Hart, or the Life of the Glorious S. Teresa, Trans. Sir Toby Matthew (Antwerp, 1642), pp. 419-20.

level of meaning.

The image of a woman as Cupid may refer to the traditionally female sphere of love, but Teresa is not to be mocked as "Some weak, inferior, woman saint." Although the feminine and masculine have traditionally been thought of as separate, even mutually antagonistic principles,[16] Teresa unites the two. A mortal woman, such as Mrs M. R. could only be the object of divine love. Teresa is represented as almost a de-gendered creature, a woman with masculine courage.[17] Teresa was attractive to Crashaw because through her love and seemingly passive acceptance of pain, she was enabled to enter the "masculine" world of action. She was known not only for her writing, but also for travelling, organising convents, and contributing actively towards theological debates.[18] As a result of her seemingly passive acceptance of a divine assault, she is also able to write about her experience of heavenly love. As Cupid's arrow made Ovid a writer, and wounds render Prudentius' martyrs capable of divine speech, so, Crashaw suggests, the angel's dart empowers Teresa to write about divine love.

The vital role which Teresa's book plays in Crashaw's own poetry is made clearer, when he substitutes himself, as poet, for the angel. In the first part of "The Flaming Heart", he had used a tone reminiscent of the courtly, erotic playfulness of the opening of "On a Prayer Book". When he himself becomes the beloved figure, however, the language becomes far more urgent:

---

[16] See Marilyn French, Shakespeare's Division of Experience (New York, 1981), pp. 21-22.

[17] Sabine, Feminine Engendered Faith, p. 215.

[18] See Stephen Clissold, St. Teresa of Avila, (London, 1979).

O sweet incendiary! shew here thy art
Upon this carcase of a hard, cold, hart,
(ll. 85-6)

The language remains largely in an ecstatic but specifically sacred register, so that it could as well have been spoken by the Saint to God, or the poet to the Saint. As Bertonasco comments: "In Western literature, male poets often kneel before women, but not to receive doctrinal instruction, much less choose them as role models".[19] In his previous treatments of religious ecstasy, like "On a Prayer Book", Crashaw has been outside the experience, describing it, through the analogy of erotic language. In this poem we are one stage closer, we hear the poet's speech as immediately as we can; as Crashaw reaches St. Teresa through the written word, which is the only barrier left between ourselves and the poet.

The final section, with its incantatory "By all...", becomes a litany of prayer to the saint asking for her intercession, both as the writer of the Vida and the woman who, through her pain, has shared such a close communion with God. Prudentius asked the martyrs to be an intermediary for his prayers. But Crashaw is not asking for Teresa to intercede with God on his behalf, as Prudentius does: his request is to become one with her, so that he can thereby experience union with God:

By all the heav'ns thou hast in him
(Fair Sister of the SERAPHIM)
By all of HIM we have in THEE;
Leave nothing of my SELF in me.
Let me so read thy life, that I
Unto all life of mine may dy.
(ll. 103-8)

The urge to become one with the intercessor which he expressed at the end of "Non

---

[19] Marc F. Bertonasco, "A Jungian Reading of Crashaw's 'The Flaming Heart,'" in Cooper, Essays, pp. 224-64. p. 243.

Dico Rogaturum" returns. He not only strives to be like Teresa, but to be identical with her. The capitalised words, "him", "thee", and "self", exemplify the process of Teresa's mediation, as, even in the movement of the lines, divine love reaches the writer through her agency.

At the beginning of "The Flaming Heart" we are politely addressed as "well meaning readers", but by the end the writer's voice has intervened to demonstrate what effect a book (Teresa's Vida) may have. He hopes to leave behind his earthly existence as a direct result of reading her book. He makes it very clear that it is through her power to write such a text that Teresa is able to mediate between him and God. Her text itself seems to act as a mediator for his own writing, encouraging him to feel that he may be able to write about the experience of ecstatic, heavenly love.

In "A Hymn to St. Teresa", we read of the way the woman herself acts as an intermediary for the writer. Again, her experience of the pain of ecstatic piercing is central to the poem. Although the hymn begins with a long narrative section in which the tone of the third person narrator is decidedly detached, the narrator becomes much more involved as he considers her ordeal. When he contemplates her experience of the ecstatic wounding, the poet speaks directly to her, and in his imagination can describe in detail what he supposes such an experience may feel like. He as a mortal can approach such an ecstasy only by using her as an intermediary. Yet he has finally to break away from this intense celebration and admit to his inability really to feel, and less to describe her feelings:

> So fast
> Shalt thou exhale to heaven at last,
> In a dissolving sigh, and then
> O what! Ask not the tongues of men,
> Angells cannot tell, suffice,

> Thy selfe shall feel thine own full joys.
> (ll.. 116-22).

Suddenly he is forced to move back from his intimate identification with her experience of ecstasy. It must remain unspeakable. He can imagine the scene of her assumption into heaven, but finally cannot know how such a close union with God may feel.

Despite Crashaw's insistence that Teresa unites masculine and feminine, it is at this point that Teresa's gender becomes significant to the poet. Through her experience, Crashaw can examine the heightened eroticism of her union with God in a way that a man usually cannot. By writing about Teresa, Crashaw was able to make use of the usually female-centred tradition of "mystical ravishment" in which Teresa herself writes.[20] As part of this convention, the female mystic envisages her experience in terms of a sexual act, of becoming the bride of Christ. The caption to a contemporary emblem is illustrative of this:

> Oh sweet Jesu, I knew not thy kisses were so sweet, nor thy society so delectable, nor thy attentions so vertuous; for when I have thee, I am cleane; when I touch thee, I am chast; when I receive thee I am a virgin.[21]

In itself this involves a paradox, as the bride is at once chaste and saintly and spiritually raped. This is again an attempt to use the language of sex as an analogy for spiritual ecstasy. Crashaw may aspire to this sort of mystical experience but, because of his gender, cannot attain it. A man cannot become the bride of Christ; but he can at least consider the experience at one remove by writing about a

---

[20] Sandra K. Fischer, "Crashaw, Ste. Teresa and the Icon of Mystical Ravishment," Journal of Evolutionary Psychology, 4 (1983), 182-195.

[21] Pseudo-Bonaventure, Emblems and Hieroglyphikes (London, 1635), emblem ix.

woman.

Crashaw may have used a female saint because it is easier to make the transition from erotic to religious discourse if a woman represents the human part of this relationship. God is considered to be male in this poem, although in others he shows female characteristics.[22] If an obviously erotic language were used between a male poet and God, then Crashaw would have to contend with homoerotic connotations. One of the ways of avoiding such a dilemma was to seem either to be writing to advise a woman, as in "On a Prayer Book", or to admire a saintly woman, as in these poems about St. Teresa. This may be the reason why so many of Crashaw's poems are written through a female agent, and perhaps even why some critics consider his poetry to be "feminine". As Sabine shows, any identification with the feminine was an identification with passivity, and a lack of sexual dominance.[23] Yet since Crashaw is aware that it is impossible for a human to dominate God in the way a human lover might a mistress, such an identification seems an obvious one. Furthermore, from classical times, it was percieved as important that a man should take the active role in a relationship, or risk being perceived as effeminate.[24] Since he was in the position of being the passive object of another male's power and love, perhaps such an identification with the feminine

---

[22] For example, the "Hymn to the Name". For discussion of the feminine elements of God, and Crashaw's use of them, see See Cunnar, "Crashaw's 'Sancta Maria Dolorum,'" pp. 99-126, Leonardo Boff O.F.M., The Maternal face of God, trans. Robert R. Barr and John Diercksmeier (San Francisco, 1987).

[23] Sabine, Feminine Engendered Faith, pp. 111-15.

[24] David M. Halperin, One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and other Essays on Greek Love (London, 1990), pp. 30-4, Michel Foucault, The Uses of Pleasure, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1984), p. 215, Bernard I. Murstein, Love, Sex and Marriage through the Ages (New York, 1973), p. 58.

helps preserve the writer from this charge. Far from making Crashaw a proto-feminist, this may be an attempt to assert his masculinity.

Finally, however, Teresa was valuable to Crashaw because she was able to unite the traditionally masculine and feminine principles of action and passivity in her miraculous ability to suffer. Even though she is a Saint she is compelled to be the passive recipient of love and pain. Inspired by Teresa's example he realised that such ecstatic contemplative vision could enable him to be active, to love and write, only if he first abandoned himself to receive God.

## Section Two: Crashaw and Mariolatry

The other saintly female mediator to whom Crashaw wrote was the Virgin Mary. He had been writing to the Virgin throughout his poetic career, even before his conversion to Catholicism. One of the charges levelled against Crashaw by the Parliamentary investigators was that he: "Turned himselfe to ye picture of the Virgin Mary and ... used these words, 'hanc adoramus, colamus hanc'" (We adore and worship her).[25] His early epigrams reflect such a reverential worship of the Virgin. They concentrate on aspects of official Marian dogma. The contradictions of mother and virgin, child and mother of God, are ideally suited to the epigrammatic style of writing. The antithetical style of the epigram, written in elegiac couplets, is used in "Beatae virgini credenti", and "Deus sub utero virginis". In the former the antithesis in line four, around the Caesura, neatly expresses the paradox: "Fida dei fueras filia; mater eris", "You were a faithful daughter of God; you will be his mother."

The couplet is also used with great concision as a separate unit of meaning in "Deus sub utero virginis", to explore the mystery of an earthly mother who becomes a heavenly Queen:

> Quanta uteri, Regina, tui reverentia tecum est,
> Dum jacet hic, coelo sub breviore, deus.
> (ll. 5-6)
>
> What reverence for your womb do you have, O Queen
> While God lies here in too small a heaven

---

[25] Allan Pritchard, "Puritan Charges against Crashaw and Beaumont," TLS (2 July, 1964), p. 578.

These epigrams are undoubtedly technically accomplished, and we gain a strong sense of a writer who is expert both in the manipulation of language, and in the theology of the Virgin Birth.[26] However, the reader is left with little sense of a personal devotional bond between speaker and Virgin.

His celebration of Marian dogma may have been influenced by the many prose lives of Mary which were used as aid to meditation especially among the Jesuit order. These contained accounts of the life of the Virgin, and often instructions on how to say the rosary.[27] They were usually printed abroad, mostly by the Franciscans at Douai, and smuggled into England.[28] Some, like N.N's Maria Triumphans, were obviously intended as aids to conversion for Protestant readers.[29] In chosing to venerate the Virgin, and indeed St. Teresa, Crashaw looked backward towards the pre-reformation practices of the Catholic Church in England. Eamon Duffy shows that until the Henrician reformation the cults of various saints, and especially that of the Blessed Virgin, had been celebrated with great fervour in England.[30] The reformation settlement had outlawed the veneration of Saints and the cult of the Virgin,[31] but Crashaw still chooses to use this ancient devotional

---

[26] For discussion of this see Marina Warner, First of all her Sex (London, 1976), chapter 3.

[27] For example Henry Garnet, The Society of the Rosarie (St Omers, 1624), Sir Tobie Matthew, The Widdowes Mite (St. Omer, 1619), Sabine Chambers, The Garden of Our B. Lady (London, 1619).

[28] Rev Father Thaddeus, The Franciscans in England 1600-1850 (London and Leamington, 1898). pp. 105-14.

[29] N.N. Maria Triumphans (St. Omer, 1635).

[30] Eamon Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars (New Haven and London, 1992) pp. 256-62, and 155-206.

[31] Duffy, p. 407.

procedure, as if to evoke a continuity with the primitive church. As we shall see in chapter six, this procedure, like his use of St. Bernard's writing, suggests a sympathy with the Laudian faction's emphasis on the practices of the early church.

The tradition of Marian writing with which Crashaw associated himself had been practised almost exclusively by Catholic writers like Robert Southwell. His sequence of poems on the Virgin is a strictly chronological consideration of her life. He uses the implications of Mary's birth, in "Her Nativity" as inspiration for linguistic elaboration, creating images and ideas from it:

> Joy in the rising of our orient starre,
> That shall bring forth the Sunne that lent her light
> Joy in the peace that shall conclude our warr.
> (ll. 1-3)

The complexity of the imagery precludes any possibility of considering Mary's existence as a real child. The Virgin's iconography of stars,[32] and that of Christ as the light of the world, is compounded by the inevitable son/sun pun. A simple reiteration of joy cannot hide the emotionless detachment of this celebration. The poet becomes so entrapped within the complications of his language that any question of worshipping the virgin herself is lost in a remote consideration of an idea. Like Crashaw, Southwell siezes upon Mary's defining paradox of virgin motherhood and uses it to drive a highly rhetorical style. However he lacks both the fruitful tension of Crashaw's later style, and the terseness of the epigrams, producing instead a conglomeration of paradoxes which are more notable as a linguistic trope than for their meaning.

---

[32] For discussion of Marian iconography in this poem see, Robert Beddow, The English Verse of Robert Southwell, Unpublished PhD Thesis (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 119-121.

Other writers, as far as we know Catholics, also wrote what could be called "doctrinal" poems. Folger Ms. Va. 137, contains a long poem of this type which is a statement of Marian cult beliefs and a versified life. Its title "In praise of our blessed ladie", shows that this sort of rehearsal of fact was considered to be worship. The more quaintly titled "A Little songe of the Blessed Lady", part of Bodleian Ms. Eng. Poet. e.122, shows the writer's greater skill. The writer uses the metaphor of a costly garment of light in the second stanza:

> Whoe is shee that adorned with light
> Makes the sonne her robe
> At whose feet the queen of night
> Layes the changing globe
> (ll. 5-8)

The poem is a celebration of Mary's glorious position in heaven, filled with the iconography of sun and stars which Southwell used, but we gain no impression that any devotional relationship is being established.

Unlike this rather formal rehearsal of Marian attributes or Crashaw's earlier epigrams, his "Nativity Hymn", presents a more homely and intimate portrait of the Virgin's role as a human mother. In this poem we do not hear the voice of the author directly as in the Teresa poems, instead we hear the voices of the shepherds in a dialogue. Once more this shows the poet looking to the past for inspiration. The use of a chorus of shepherds immediately evokes classical bucolic poetry, like Virgil's Eclogues, especially the messianic Eclogue IV, which anticipates the birth of a miraculous child. The language used to describe Mary is far more simple and less ecstatic than that used of St. Teresa. This may be because the poem is supposedly spoken by the shepherds, and so Crashaw chose relatively simple vocabulary for simple men.

The tone which the shepherds establish is one of friendly humour, despite

their worship of the child. Their joke about the sleepy sun in the first two stanzas brings the grand iconography of Christ the light down to a human scale.[33] Although, to the shepherds, Mary is less important than her child, she is praised as his loving mother. The celebration of Mary as an earthly woman whose breast is softer than the down the Angels offer is underlined by the description of her feeding, and so sustaining the life of the divine child:

> Two sister-Seas of virgins Milke
> With many a rarely temper'd kisse,
> That breathes at once both Maid and Mother,
> Warmes in the one, cooles in the other.
>
> (ll. 61-5)

Images of breast-feeding in Crashaw's poetry have caused unfavourable comment, especially in the case of the epigram "Blessed be the paps", which some critics consider to be in very poor taste.[34] Yet here, Mary's feeding of her son is inoffensive. It is offered by the shepherds as a simple praise of a most basic yet vital caring which the mother provides for her son. Crashaw joins the tradition of praising "Maria Lactans",[35] a valuation of the Virgin's milk, as the symbol of the woman's unique ability to nurture the growing child. The Shepherds recognise that, though a helpless baby, the child's "Love must keepe/ The Shepheards, while they feed their sheepe",[36] yet it would be impossible for him to do this without his mother. As men whose job it is to feed and protect their flocks they understand how

---

[33] The imagery of the sun in this poem and "In the Glorious Epiphanie" is discussed in Joseph P. Hilyard, "The Negative Wayfarers of Richard Crashaw's 'A Hymn in the Glorious Nativitie'," in Cooper, Essays, pp. 169-195.

[34] Elisha M. Kane, Gongorism and the Golden Age (Chapel Hill, 1928), pp. 150-1, and William Empson, Seven Types of Ambiguity 2nd. edn. (London, 1947), p. 221

[35] Warner, pp. 192ff.

[36] "Hymn in the Holy Nativitie", ll. 81-2.

important Mary's care of the powerful, but physically vulnerable child must be.

Few nativity poems are as intimate as Crashaw's version. Donne, for example, celebrates the nativity with a feast of complex language in "La Corona",[37] but he does not attempt to portray Mary's humanity. A more unusual treatment of the nativity, and one which is closer to Crashaw's, is "Our Ladyes Lullaby" by the unknown author of Bodleian Ms. Eng. Poet. e122. This poem concerns the virgin birth, but it is the mother herself who contemplates this mystery, not a distanced poetic observer. The lullaby privileges the problems of human motherhood over the question of Christ's divinity. We hear the confused helplessness of a new mother's voice in her perplexity at what is upsetting her child:

> Perhappes theese cloathes course, hard and thinne
> Rubb overmuch thy tender skinne
> And through ther slender single foulde
> Let in an ayre sharpe, pearcenge, cowlde:
> If this be it, I have no more
> Uppon thy backe lyes all my store
> (stanza 6)

The poet conveys a realistic sense of the woman's poverty. Unlike in Crashaw's own idyllic version, no angel-down is offered here. The all-powerful Christ-child still cries for cold. It is only after this plausible explanation that Mary thinks of her son as her offended God:

> Perhapps thou thinkes me overbowld
> Thus on my lappe my God to howld
> (ll. 60-1)

The whole poem centres on Mary's own solution of this dilemma, which, with its simple language, contrasts sharply with the corruscating paradoxes more usual in this context. It is linguistically simple, like the Shepherds' worship of the child in

---

[37] John Donne, "La Corona" 3, "Nativitie".

Crashaw's "Nativite Hymn". As a result, it emphasises the human, rather than the saintly elements of Mary's life, and makes it easier for readers to identify with, and pray to, a woman who experienced the troubles of a real mother.

Crashaw also attempts to create a similarly intimate and realistic picture of the Virgin. We see how the Virgin's humanity makes her accessible to other mortals. She is able to act as an intermediary for human prayers, because, like Teresa, she is saintly, but also human. It is also arguable that she is more attractive than Teresa, because of her status as a mother. De Sales had compared God's love for the world to that of a mother for her child. Here Crashaw's shepherds stress Mary's ability to care for her child, and in the same way they hope that she will use this love to protect and nurture humanity. Leah Marcus sugests that Crashaw's concentration on Mary as a mother indicates his own wish to return to childhood.[38] Such a wish would certainly be typical of Crashaw's tendency continually to look backward in his poetry. It also associates him further with the Laudian movement, which insisted that it was right to observe the ancient rituals of the Church. Their appetite for ceremony in worship was widely perceived by Calvinists as not only retrogressive, but childish.[39]

Although the shepherds come close to the Christ child and his mother, the poet is still at a distance from them. Their experience provides a model of how she may act as a mediator for the prayers of others, but in this poem we do not hear any request for her to intercede for the poet. In "On the Assumption" we are presented

---

[38] Leah Sinanoglou Marcus, Childhood and Cultural Despair (Pittsburgh, 1978), p. 147.

[39] Marcus, pp. 80-84.

with a very different aspect of the Virgin from Crashaw's other Marian poems. This is the sexually attractive beloved of the Song of Songs, not the gentle mother of the Gospels. Young describes the influence on Crashaw of the Spanish tradition of sacred parody,[40] but this seems too simplistic a description for this poem in particular. Crashaw is not using a purely secular model which becomes sacred in nature. Rather, he takes a text which is literally erotic, but allegorically sacred, and uses this identification to enrich the sacred and erotic tensions of his own poetry. In this poem he derives these tensions from the reader's recognition of Biblical rather than Classical influences. Thus he can compare the urgency with which heaven wishes to reclaim Mary with the desire of a lover for his beloved, using the literal meaning of the Canticles. He does not have to stress Mary's divinity because of the long tradition of identifying the lover and beloved as God and Mary.[41]

Language from the Song of Songs had obviously become part of the Virgin's litany. This is evident not only in Crashaw's poetry but in that of a Recusant writer, known only by the initials, I.B.[42] His Virginalia is a sonnet sequence in praise of the Virgin, based on the litany of Loreto.[43] I.B's devotional stance seems at once more and less intimate than that the writers discussed above. These sonnets are used to reinforce Marian doctrine, and each is followed by footnotes citing biblical and

---

[40] Young, Crashaw and the Spanish Golden Age, especially chapters 1-3.

[41] See Warner, pp. 121ff.

[42] I.B. Virginalia (Rouen, 1632). These poems have been wrongly ascribed to both James Bradshaig and John Brerely. For discussion of this, see A.F. Allison, "Who was John Brerely? The Identity of a Seventeenth Century Controversialist," Recusant History, 16 (1982), 17-41.

[43] For seventeenth century prose versions of this see Orazio Torsellino, The History of our Blessed Lady of Loreto (St Omer, 1608), and John Sweetnam, The Paradise of Delights or the B. Virgin's Garden of Loreto (St Omer, 1620).

patristic authority for it. Thus language is used in a highly impersonal manner, as a way of establishing dogma. Yet the choice of sonnet form often indicates an erotic approach to a woman, and praise in turn of different aspects of her reinforces this amatory tone by suggesting erotic strategies such as the Blazon.[44] Unlike the third person descriptions of the Virgin, such as those produced by Southwell, here she is directly addressed in second person praise. "O confortresse of afflicted, thou/ Send's spirituall comfort in our miseries."[45] She is also directly supplicated in the last three lines of each sonnet, which creates a specific bond between worshipper and saint:

> O let us then, great Virgin, while we stay
> In this frayle world, thy humble agents be
> To move thy greatest foes to honour thee.
> (15, Virgo Venerenda ll 12-14)

In sonnet 16, "Virgo Praedicanda", I. B. explains the reason why Catholics prayed to Mary: "Thou the Mediatrix art twixt God and man,/By thee whole nations are to pennance brought".[46] As for generations of Catholics, for Crashaw too she was a mediatrix. She may be a saint, but she is attractive because she is also human, and it is thus far less intimidating to address her than God himself. I.B.'s strategy was to describe and praise aspects of the Virgin in the first eleven lines of each sonnet, then request that she use such an attribute to intercede for him in the remaining three. Crashaw was to use a similar structure, although in a much longer poem, in

---

[44] This technique of minute description, usually of female beauty, is normally associated with Petrarchan love poetry. See Nancy J. Vickers, "This Heraldry in Lucrece's Face," in Susan Rubin Suleiman, The Female Body in Western Culture (Cambridge Mass., 1986), pp. 209-222.

[45] 35, "Consolatrix Afflictorum", ll. 1-2.

[46] 16, "Virgo Praedicanda", ll. 1-2.

"On the Assumption".

In Virginalia, titles of sonnets such as *Turris Davidica*, (Tower of David) and *Turris Eburnea*, (Tower of Ivory), both come from description of the beloved woman in the Canticles.[47] The language of the Canticle enters Crashaw's own poem as another layer of meaning, as a recognisable influence which is not subsumed into Crashaw's own text. It functions like a musical quotation in another composer's work. We see the gentle movement from one text to the other around the colon:

> Shee's called againe, hark how th'immortall Dove
> Sighs to his silver mate: rise up my Love,
> Rise up my faire, my spotlesse one,
> The winter's past the rain is gone:
> (ll. 7-10)

Crashaw's use of "th'immortall dove" and the "silver mate" in lines 7-8 shows how his own vocabulary is influenced by the song's, since both spouse and beloved refer to each other as "my dove" in the Canticles.[48] After the colon, he begins to use direct quotation from the canticles.[49] As well as the voice of the lover calling her to heaven, we also hear the poet's voice not only describing the scene, but speaking to the Virgin, who provides some hope that the gap between earth and heaven may be bridged:

> ...goe
> Since thy great sonne will have it so:
> And while thou goest, our song and wee,
> Will as wee may reach after thee.
> Haile holy Queen of humble hearts,
> Wee in thy praise will have our parts.
> (ll. 25-30)

---

[47] The Song of Songs, chapter 4, verse 4, and chapter 7, verse 4.

[48] For example chapter 2, verse 14, and chapter 5, verse 12.

[49] He quotes from chapter 2, verses 10-12.

The assumption of the Virgin is used as a symbol of how earthly language may aspire to the divine through her intercession. As in "The Flaming Heart", the balanced pronouns, "wee" and "thee", become a metonymy for her role as mediatrix. It is only through her power and aid that the writer can have any hope that his poetry will reach heaven. Though her official title of Queen is used, this is not a public hymn like his "O Gloriosa Domina". It shows its origins to be a feeling of love for Mary from the worshipper. The vocabulary of earthly love, "radiant browes", "everlasting joyes" and "white breast", creates an analogy of commitment to love whether of an earthly or heavenly woman. Yet Crashaw makes clear that this is a love which is able to transcend the particular to become universal, because of the power of the Virgin, rather than that of the poet:

> Live Crown of women, Queen of men:
> Live Mistris of our Song, and when
> Our weak desires have done their best;
> Sweet Angels come, and sing the rest.
> (ll. 59-64)

We return again to the analogue of earthly love, as Mary is described as "mistris of our song". But this poet is dependent on such a mistress to intercede for him with a higher love. He can offer only "weak desires", and knows that it is only with the help of the Virgin that his song of love will be carried to heaven.

In "Non Dico Me Rogaturum", Crashaw had shown that the prospect of praying directly to God was difficult, and even terrifying for him. Consequently, he was to use several different third parties through whom to express and examine a sacred relationship of love with God. He is able to express the intensity of others' love for God, like Mrs M.R., or the shepherds, but he was still to find himself at a distance from any experience of it. He still remains excluded from an intimate

relationship of love with God.

He shows that human intermediaries have no more power to gain God's love that he does. He therefore appeals to saintly women, in the belief that they might have the power to intercede with God on his behalf. St Teresa of Avila had inspired his use of erotic language, and he uses her experience of ecstatic communion with God as an inspiration. Through her, he hopes that he may gain access to divine love. She is also valuable to him because she endured intense pain. Through her experience of agony, she is enabled to approach the sacrificial love Christ had showed on the cross more closely than any human.

The Virgin Mary proves to be an attractive mediator, not only for Crashaw, but a variety of Catholic and Recusant writers. She is celebrated for her official attributes as Queen of heaven, and mother of Christ by poets like I.B., and Robert Southwell. Because of her earthly role as a mother, she is attractive as a saint whose care for humanity reflects her nurture of a child. Yet even in his contemplation of Mary as mother, Crashaw was to feel distanced from her experience of heavenly love. However much he may have sought to look backwards towards the certainties of childhood, he is unable to return to this state, and be nurtured by the simple bond of maternal love.

As a man, he could not share in the Virgin's experience of motherhood, but through Teresa he had gained access to the tradition of mystical ravishment. Despite his gender, he is able to contemplate the experience of becoming the bride of Christ through his contemplation of Teresa's experience. Mary also mediates for Crashaw's love through the traditional erotic analogy of the Song of Songs. It is only by returning to the register of sensuality, and by imagining the Virgin as the

beloved of the Song of Songs, that he is able to achieve the poetic transition between human and divine love.

His choice of saintly women as mediators thus partly reflects what he perceives to be their ability to intercede for him in a way that a mortal cannot. However, Crashaw's veneration of the Virgin and a saint also emphasises his tendency to look to the past as a source of inspiration for his worship, since his devotion to them links him with the ancient traditions of the Catholic Church which had been repudiated during the reformation. This tendency to look to the past for inspiration was also exemplified by his choice of Catholic Hymns of the Church as models for his own poetry, as I shall show in the final part of the thesis.

## Part Three: "The Sweetest and Yet Most violent Motive": Crashaw's Hymns, Divine Love and Human Pain.

### Chapter Seven: Joseph Beaumont, Religious Love and the Purpose of Pain.

In the "Hymn to St. Teresa", Crashaw explores the way in which love and pain are united in her experience of spiritual ecstacy. In his later poetry, which this last part of my thesis will discuss, Crashaw was increasingly to concentrate on the place of suffering in his depiction of the relationship between humanity and the divine. He was not the only seventeenth century poet to be preoccupied by the connection between religious love and suffering, however. Before examining how Crashaw himself treated his theme, I shall discuss the work of Crashaw's friend and Cambridge contemporary, Joseph Beaumont.

Beaumont's doctrinal views and way of life were almost identical with Crashaw's while they were both in Cambridge. By comparing his poetry with Crashaw's it is possible to ascertain if Crashaw's views were a product of a personal obsession, or whether they could have been produced by the cultural circumstances in which the two men lived. I have argued that Crashaw's poetry appears exotic and "foreign" because of the particular beliefs of the beauty of holiness movement in Cambridge. An examination of the poetry of another writer who was also involved in this movement will, therefore, provide a comparison with Crashaw's perceived exoticism. Beaumont has been forgotten, as an obscure minor poet, and Crashaw alone has remained as an example of their particularly Laudian poetry. If we re-establish the link between Crashaw, Beaumont and their devotional environment, then Crashaw's poetry and ideas on love seem much less "foreign" in sensibility.

After their expulsion from Peterhouse, Joseph Beaumont did not join

flight to France, nor did he convert to Catholicism. After his ejection from his fellowship in 1643, he went home to Suffolk to compose an epic, Psyche, Or Love's Mystery, and various minor poems. The few critics who comment on Beaumont are united in their judgement of his having been a deservedly obscure writer.[1] Even in 1749 the reception of his minor poems was not favourable, and the editor makes "a plea for some good natured indulgence for the incorrectnesses and negligencies which occur in it."[2] However, it is not so much for the quality of what Beaumont wrote that he is so valuable, as for the information that this can provide about the ideas and circumstances of an ejected Laudian royalist, and his devotional stance.

Psyche concerns the development of the relationship between the soul and God. It is an allegorical epic, replete with images of spiritual combat influenced not only by Classical epic, but also Prudentius and Spenser.[3] It is also a more personal testament of how a believer, either the writer or his creation, Psyche, creates a relationship with God. This relationship cannot, in Beaumont, remain unaffected by the predicament of the writer himself. Psyche represents not only the fictional struggle of the soul to reach the love of God, but the actual struggle of the writer to attain such love in time of war.

The tension of these two strands in the writing is not, at first, apparent. The

---

[1] Paul Grant Stanwood, "St. Teresa and Joseph Beaumont's *Psyche*," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 62 (1963), 533-550, and Herbert E. Cory, "Spenser, the School of the Fletchers and Milton," University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 2 (1912), 311-373, (pp. 335-341).

[2] Beaumont, Original Poems, p. xx.

[3] Cory, p. 339.

opening cantos might lead the reader to suspect that this will be a work similar to the Royalist poetry of retreat,[4] which ignores political reality in an escape into allegorical fantasy. "Psyche", Greek for the soul, is feminine in gender. Thus the abstract idea of the worshipper's soul can be given a concrete reality as "a tender mayd". The accident of a word's gender provides a very useful dramatic device for creating a relationship of heterosexual love between God and the human worshipper. Beaumont's method in doing this is similar to the story of the Prince and peasant girl which Granada uses to explicate the Eucharist.[5] God becomes the spouse of the Song of Songs, and the female soul the beloved. Thus complex concepts gain an expression through narrative. Stanwood, commenting on Beaumont's minor poetry, notes the impression of authorial distance from what he purports to feel or experience:

> He writes faciley [sic] of spiritual annihilation, so regularly, indeed, that one distrusts Beaumont's own ability to be moved by more than an intellectually understood ideal.[6]

This often leads Beaumont, when writing of abstract ideas or images, to appear comic, when the subject matter tells us he feels he is writing with all seriousness. Such almost involuntary detachment leads to love's being described as a "Catholic glue", or to the idea of a lost heart being dropped in the street, with seeming nonchalance.[7]

---

[4] See Earl Miner, The Cavalier Mode from Jonson to Cotton (Princeton, 1971). pp. 13-14.

[5] See Granada, p. 406, and discussion in chapter 4.

[6] Stanwood, "St. Teresa," p. 540.

[7] "The losse", St. 3.

The epic framework of Psyche, however, allows him to integrate abstract concepts into a narrative structure, where abstracts become characters in the story. He seems to be most successful at the re-telling of older narratives, so that, as for Ovid in the Metamorphoses, the narrative provides a frame for other stories. Phylax tells Psyche stories originally from the Bible, like the Myths told by the Minyades, in Metamorphoses book four. The girdle given to Psyche by the spouse, which is embroidered with yet another narrative, performs a similar function to the Shield of Achilles.[8]

Psyche herself, though ostensibly the heroine of the story, is almost a passive object of a predominantly sexual type of love. Satan and God are seen as rivals, who vie for her favours. Satan, fulminating about how "Her face/ Do's now her lustie God a wooer make",[9] attempts to rape her more from jealousy than desire:

> *Psyche*, a simple thing, I wot, and one
> Whom I as deeply scorn, as Him I spight.
> He seek's to make his prize; *Psyche* alone
> Take's up his amorous thoughts both day and night.
> Wer't not our wrong, I could contented be
> The king of Heaven had I such a Spouse as She.
> (canto I, St. 26)

She is also assailed by a courtly youth, Aprodisius, who does his elegant, Petrarchan, best to persuade her to have sex. He turns, when exposed, into a hideous fiend (a device that is to be somewhat over-worked as the epic progresses). Yet he is portrayed in his human form as no great villain, merely a charming courtier.

---

[8] The girdle, woven with the story of John the Baptist's life, is given to psyche in Canto three. The shield Of Achilles is described in Homer, The Iliad, book 18, ll. 477-617.

[9] Canto 1, St. 27.

Satan called her simple, the narrator constructs her a "Poor harmelesse psyche".[10] At every turn she has to be rescued by her tutor, Phylax, who appears whenever she is in trouble, and demonstrates a head-masterly concern for his errant pupil. Despite his efforts, Psyche, carried away with her power as Queen of her subject senses, embarks on an orgy of vanity. She dresses up, shows herself off in a royal progress, and delights in her looking glass. The narrator comments on her foolishness:

> Whilst she with these and other Rarities
> Builds up her Pomp: The Gaudy *Queen* delights
> To see by what rich steps her beauties rise;
> For to the Glasse whose multiplying sleights
> Flatter'd her Error to so proud a pitch
> Her Joyous Folly still her eyes did reach.
>
> (canto 5, St. 190)

Phylax is able to upset the gaudy progress, literally. While the Queen languishes in the wreck of the state coach, he admonishes her, merely with a look. This is not an atypical situation. Phylax's love for Psyche often requires her humiliation, and proof of her stupidity. Further, he is always the initiator of the beneficial adventures she has, and the teller of improving tales. She cannot read for herself, and her own ideas and enterprises are doomed to failure. Yet, in creating a heroine who is so unable to shape her own fate, Beaumont negates rather than accentuates her gender. Many male epic heroes, beginning with Aeneas,[11] have found themselves at the mercy of momentous circumstances, the force of which deprives them of power to act independently.

---

[10] Canto 2, St. 89.

[11] J.K. Newman, The Classical Epic Tradition (Madison Wisc. 1986), p. 199.

The portrayal of women in Psyche is, however, enlightening because of its exploration of the connection between passivity and obedience to God's will, and the chances of the soul's salvation. The Virgin is the archetype of womanhood for Beaumont. Her main appearance is in the traditional role of patient agony as the *Mater dolorosa*. She watches helplessly as her son dies, yet does not question God's will.[12] She also plays a vital part as seamstress for Psyche's girdle.[13] This girdle which symbolises the union of Psyche and her spouse is given to her as a pledge of love. Yet its production is also a testament to the Virgin's motherly love for her son. She does the spouse's bidding, and is a model for the behaviour of the compliant soul. In contrast to the Mary's obedience, the women who act on their own behalf, without male guidance are the personifications of vices that threaten Psyche.

It is necessary for the development of the "plot" that the soul should suffer many tribulations and be taken in by persuasive, but ultimately evil temptations, only to be saved by a strong and constant love. Though the poet is male, and it is his soul he addresses, he is attempting to explore the experience of passive acceptance of God's will. At times the soul must, as part of this process, be perceived as feeble, easily influenced and often misguided. Such attributes and failings are perceived to be predominantly feminine, and thus, so must Psyche be. The effect of this identification of the female with such qualities is, paradoxically, to alienate the poet, and his male readers from their own souls' struggles. If the readership is reassured that no man could behave in such an abject fashion, then

---

[12] Canto 13, sts 334-345.

[13] Canto 3, St. 40ff.

male readers may feel that there is no possibility that their souls could be so weak.

Yet such a narrative strategy also distances the male from God's love. Beaumont's poetic response to femininity is very different from Crashaw's. Where Crashaw seeks, albeit frustratedly, to share in the female experience of religious rapture, Beaumont constructs women as very different from himself. As I shall show, this distances him even further from the love he wishes to share, and produces a peculiar split of poetic experience between Psyche and himself.

The most ideal female personification is *Ecclesia* (the Church) who can only be raised from the filth and degradation in which she was born by the powerful love and guidance of the Spouse. He becomes a Pygmalion who transforms "Such heaps of odious *Blains*, and *Boils*, such store/ Of *Wrinkles*, and *Distortions*"[14] that make up the unredeemed woman, into a "Queen of Glory".[15] *Ecclesia* is shown to Psyche as a model of the ideal relationship between God and man, or perhaps woman. The soul, Beaumont implies, must be passive, and the Church, controlled by higher authority, seemly and biddable.

This analogy is apt for the fate of the Church in this period. Modern scholarship tends to the view that the English Civil war was caused primarily by a crisis over the future of the Church.[16] It was the centre of dispute, and, like a woman, everyone had opinions about how it should look, and behave, who should

---

[14] Canto 16, St. 149, ll. 3-4.

[15] Canto 16, St. 152, l. 4.

[16] See John Morrill, "The Religious Context of the English Civil War," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, fifth series, no. 34 (1984), 155-178, and Conrad Russell, Causes of the English Civil War (Oxford, 1990), especially chapters 3-5 and appendix.

have power over it and what it should symbolise. Those, like Beaumont, who preferred it beautifully adorned may have felt that the puritan sackings of Cambridge chapels were akin to rape.

A political subtext of Psyche is easily discerned. God is the king of the universe, and the allegiance paid to him is that of a loyal Royalist toward his king. The adjective "royal" is used repeatedly, and God is described as the "mighty king of [love]".[17] It does not require much imagination to perceive the writer's attitude to the "rebels" and religious schismatics in the epic. Indeed, in the revised version of Psyche, published in 1701, an extra canto is added, which equates Christ's resurrection with the Restoration of the monarchy. This must have been written later than the rest of the text, but its political stance is not surprising, from a man who received preferment in the form of the Mastership of Peterhouse immediately after the Restoration.

Psyche suffers a rebellion of her senses in Canto four, which is very obviously modelled on the Civil War. This parallel treatment of fragmentation in the self and the political state is discussed by Jonathan Sawday, who comments that: "Psyche's realm is not just a divided kingdom, but rather a representation of the state or personality fractured into multiple factions."[18]

The senses are depicted as unruly subjects, and are overheard having a council of war. The authorial comment on their grievances allows no possibility of

---

[17] Canto 13, St. 32, l. 6.

[18] Jonathan Sawday, "'Mysteriously Divided': Civil War, Madness and the Divided Self," in Literature and the English Civil War, eds. Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 127-147, (p. 137).

sympathy for the subject senses. He assumes that readers must be on the side of Psyche, the Queen:

> So did their sullen murmur gather strength
> Still day by day, by mutinous degrees,
> Boyling to such impatience, that at length
> By flat rebellion they resolve to ease
> Their over-charged stomachs; and one day
> All met at Councell, thus their Griefs display.
>
> (St. 13)

In canto five she is criticised by *Syneidesis* (conscience), one of her own supporters, for neglecting her role as a just ruler. In a remarkably frank tone she accuses Psyche of ignoring the signs of approaching rebellion and being partly responsible for the disarray of the state:

> Hadst thou been carefull how to wield thy Might
> And in due time approv'd thy self a Queen,
> Straight had'st thou held the Reins, and driven right
> Thy Royall Chariot: Still your Beasts had been
> Themselves, as loyall unto you and milde,
> As they now savage are become, and wild.
>
> You scorn'd the *Passion's* breeding Garboils: You Forsooth, on
> *Safetie's* wings sate mounted high.
> And, pray, what is that Rivulet come too now?
> What wants it of a Sea's immensitie:
> It is a Sea, which though perhaps it may
> Not clense your Crime, can wash your Life away.
>
> (sts 8, 10)

The extended metaphors in these two stanzas seem, with the benefit of hindsight, to be a macabre prediction. Rebellion of those who have been treated as mere animals by their ruler may not threaten Psyche in the epic world, but the sea of rebellion was to prove fatal in the world that inspired such fiction.

Beaumont's portrayal of Psyche as a woman gives him more political leeway to make comments on the state of the monarchy. She is also persuaded, by the rebel

ambassador, that she has been badly advised by her counsellors:[19]

> *Logos*, that wiley Fox was never well
> But when on you and Us, he made a prey
> Some hansome Tale or other He would tell
> Whereby to your Mistake He might betray
> Your unheard Subjects: From your Highness thus
> He stole your Eare, our Liberty from Us.
> (St. 107)

Absolving her of any real fault, he says "I am content the weaknesse of your Sex/Be your excuse".[20] Had the foolish monarch been a man, it would have been more difficult for the poet to criticise any of his actions, while remaining loyal to his King. Thus the images of a misguided monarch in a corruptly luxurious coach may be diffused with the excuse of female weakness. Not only would a male king seem more culpable, he would be too identifiable as well.

Whatever Psyche's mistakes, she is always assured of her spouse's love. It is, however, not always easy to determine what love represents in Beaumont's work. Although he uses the sexual analogy of spouse and beloved, this is complicated by the number of loves the spouse seems to have. For example, this passage describes the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin:

> So now the Lowly *Virgin* conquered by
> The potent Pleasure of her loving *Spouse*,
> Exceeds her old, by new *Humility*.
> And with her selfe, her former Meeknesse throws
> Before his feet, content to be whate'r
> His most victorious Love would make of Her.
> (canto 7, St. 91)

In an unknown context, this language of humble adoration could be descriptive of

---

[19] Canto 5, sts 105-118.

[20] Canto 5, St. 144.

Psyche, the Virgin, *Ecclesia* or even, and most strangely, Mary Magdalen. This failure to differentiate the spouse's partners, or their passion, makes heavenly love appear indiscriminately promiscuous. If the writer is intent on describing the intensely personal relationship between soul and worshipper, this would seem to create quite the opposite effect.

The most compelling accounts of love between God and man in Psyche are those of actual love on earth, when God was incarnate; that is between Christ and both St. John, and Mary Magdalen. Here he describes the anointing of Christ's feet with perfume:

> *Thrift* Grumbled at the cost: But *Jesus* who
> Excessive in his love to *Mary* was
> Vouchsaf'd her generous *Soule* free leave to goe
> In the same princely and licentious pace:
> He knew the heats of this unwieldy Passion
> And will allow it brave Immoderation.
> (canto 10, St. 358)

This is an avowedly sexual type of love, and differs little from the allegorical Aphrodisius. We are told love is a passion of souls, but it is described as an insatiable physical desire, which is countenanced by the incarnate God.

The other sequence of this kind describes Christ's relationship with St. John, and is also in canto ten. At first the description of this love, while full of the language of sexual passion, is spiritualised, as a love of John's holiness and inner beauty:

> He was in love with the reflexion
> Of his own Sweetnesse shining in thy face;
> With sympathetick Joy hee dwelt upon
> His iterated Selfe in that pure Glasse,
> Striving all Lovers Arts on it to prove:
> O Blessed *Soule*, with whom *Love* fell in love.
> (canto 10. St. 136)

This is a passion of God for man, but is strangely narcissistic in its form. The reflection of glances in stanza 136 evokes Donne's "The Ecstacie"; but even Donne makes the reflection mutual.[21] John is described as yet another spouse for this personification of love. But the reiteration of "love" in line six only serves to deny any sort of mutuality in this relationship. As Kristeva comments: "Indeed, deprived of satisfaction, the lover soaks up the loved one through his gaze, which becomes the strongest conveyer of amatory effect, and at the same time its most powerful distancer."[22] The worldly nature of this love becomes even more startling in stanza 139. The vague biblical phrase, "the Disciple whom Jesus loved" is given a full physical realisation:

> There did'st thou lie, next to the Heart of *Love*,
> Whose ravishing Imbraces kept thee warm
> With all the best of Heav'n, no more above,
> But folded up in his incircling Arm:
> Which forced all wise Spectators to conclude,
> Thou wert aforehand with Beatitude.

"Ravishing Imbraces" sound very Crashavian indeed. However, Crashaw only ever uses sexual images in a figurative sense, to construct an analogue for the intensity of feeling inherent in the worship of a heavenly, and remote figure. Beaumont means these embraces literally. Early modern attitudes to homoeroticism are difficult to assess.[23] We cannot, then, know how this passage would have been received by contemporary readers, but Beaumont does not seem to deny a literally erotic

---

[21] John Donne, "The Ecstacie", ll. 7-8.

[22] Julia Kristeva, "Stendahl and the Politics of the Gaze: An Egotist's Love," in her Tales of Love, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York, 1987), pp. 341-64, (p. 349).

[23] William Shakespeare, The Sonnets and A Lover's Complaint, ed. John Kerrigan (London, 1986), p. 46ff. See also Alan Bray, Homosexuality in Renaissance England (London, 1982), pp. 16-18.

relationship between the two men.

It may be that at any point of erotic intensity Beaumont is apt to use the same linguistic register, without regard for its figurative or literal meaning. Certainly, in the lyrics, a strange conflation of emotion can be found in "The Relapse" and "Jealousy", when his earthly lover and God become rivals for the same affection:

> Has not my lavish Breast
> Embrac'd my pretious Friend too close:
> The thoughts of whome possest
> Me so, that those
> Which I designed to be
> Attending upon Thee
> Were Often justled out, while thus my faint
> Devotions, from my God fell to my Saint.
>
> (St. 4)

The religious image of saint as a real woman here serves further to blur the distinction between the two forms of love and beloved.

In Psyche, Beaumont often uses a type of Crashavian ecstatic language when the soul expresses her love for the spouse:

> What praiers were there, what thanks, what sighs, what tears,
> What languishments, what amorous exstasies,
> What confidence, what shame, what hopes, what fears,
> What pains, what joys, what thoughts, what words! She dies
> And yet she lives, and yet she dies againe,
> And would for ever live so be to slain.
>
> (canto 2, St. 146)

As well as the ecstatic tone, Psyche's experience of the paradoxical pain of such love is remarkably similar to Crashaw's lines 97-102 in the "Hymn to St. Teresa":

> Oh how oft shall thou complaine
> Of a sweet and subtle paine?
> Of intollerable joyes?
> Of a death in which who dyes
> Loves his death, and dyes againe,

And would forever so be slaine!

Beaumont's lines 145-6 are almost identical to Crashaw's 101-2. The ideas of "delicious miserie" and becoming "Joyes sacrifice"[24] recur throughout Psyche, as does the idea of ecstatic wounding, which Phylax describes to Psyche thus:

> With these he wounds his best beloved Hearts,
> And by the wound sets ope to Life its way:
> *Life* is the point of these mysterious Darts
> Which with pure *Joy* and dainty *Vigour* slay.
> (canto 3, St. 29, ll 1-4)

Psyche, like Crashaw's Teresa, is determined to be martyred to prove her love, and suffers torments until she is able to do this. Her desire is expressed as a sexual longing for spiritual ravishment. "O what will thy *supream imbraces* be/ If this *small tincture* thus hath ravished me."[25]

Edward Benlowes was also a Cambridge contemporary of Crashaw's.[26] His Theophila, or Loves Sacrifice[27] is another epic about the relationship between a female soul and God, and in it he also connects the soul's love for God with violence. Benlowes regularly uses the language of spiritual wounding in his descriptions of love. In the Preface, he states that "Love is never more eloquent, then when ventilated in Sighs and Groans, Heavens delighted *Musick*."[28] Then in a prose section entitled "Pneumata-sarco-machia, or Theophila's spiritual warfare", he declares that "The life of a true Christian is a continual *Conflict*". He describes love

---

[24] Canto 3, sts 6 and 4 respectively.

[25] Canto 3, St. 188, ll. 5-6.

[26] Harold Jenkins, Edward Benlowes (London, 1952), p. 65, Carl Niemeyer, "New Light on Edward Benlowes," in RES, 12 (1936), 31-41.

[27] Edward Benlowes, Theophila, or Loves Sacrifice (London, 1652).

[28] Benlowes, Theophila, preface ¶¶¶$^{b}$-¶¶¶2$^{a}$.

in the same language of paradoxical pain used by Beaumont:

> What is shed in this holy *War* is not *Blood* but *Love*; ... When we are converted we are conquer'd; He bindes when He embraceth us; In the *Cords* of *Love* He leads us Captives; and *kills* us into Life.[29]

Theophila's rapture is described in language that is again, very similar to the passage of Crashaw's "Hymn to St.Teresa" quoted above:

> Return'd she cry'd: *O, slay me thus again!*
> *Ne're lives She who ne're thus is slain!*
> *How sweet the* Wounds *of* LOVE! *No* Pleasure to Love's *pain*
> (Canto 4, St. 92)

The whole canto is an extended treatment of Teresian ecstatic wounding in the tradition of mystical ravishment. The title "Love's Sacrifice" indicates that Theophila is intended to be an erotic martyr. But, because of the lack of narrative structure, ecstatic language is the only means of communicating this.

Beaumont's Psyche finds it more difficult to experience ecstacy. She is lead through a process of meditation on the life and crucifixion of Christ. She is deeply moved by the pathos of the crucifixion, but yet frustrated that she cannot take part in the suffering. Like Crashaw in "Stabat Mater" she may only watch the Virgin's grief.[30] She makes a frustrated gesture of love, a pathetic testament to the gap between worshipping soul and God:

> *Psyche* who scarcely for this cue could wait,
> Fell on her face and kis'd the reveren'd *floor*;
> Where her brave flames so melted her, that strait
> Her amorous *sighs* and *soule* she forth did pour,
> And by the strong embrace of Faith and Love
> Seem'd there to hug *Him* who was *high above.*
> (canto 13, St. 442)

---

[29] Benlowes, Theophila, B[a]

[30] Canto 13, sts 334-346. See discussion of this below.

This is at once inspiring and depressing. Her emotional state, and outpourings of love show the results of her application of the Ignatian method of meditation. For example, in the Spiritual Exercises, Ignatius instructs the meditator to imagine that they see the crucified Christ in front of them.[31] Throughout the exercises he stresses the importance of visual imagination of minute details. He insists that the meditator should imagine the stable where Christ was born: "etiam nativitatis locum rimabimur, speluncae similem, latum, vel angustum, planum, vel erectum, commode, vel incommode paratum".[32] (We must also examine his birthplace, to see if it was like a cave, wide or narrow, lowly or tall, comfortably or uncomfortably prepared). Psyche "sees" the situation so clearly that she can believe she touches God. However the true situation of kissing a cold floor, even if it is of Christ's birthplace, is an eloquent expression of human helplessness. Whatever she may hope for, the floor is as close as she can come to her spouse's lips as a "living" being. It may be that this is why Beaumont is unable to construct an abstract relationship between himself and God with the same intensity of the sequence between Christ and John. It seems that, for him, only physical propinquity can evoke passion. The gap between himself and heaven proves an insurmountable barrier.

The paradox of love and suffering is extended even further, as Psyche yearns to suffer martyrdom:

> O do not slay Me by denying Death!
> To *Suffer want of Sufferings*, is to Me.
> The only Dregs which from thy deepest Wrath

---

[31] St. Ignatius Loyola, Exercitia Spiritualia (Rome, 1606), p. 35.

[32] Loyola, p. 53.

Can squeazed be: from this one Misery
Which is the Pith of all, I beg reprieve:
I dy in torment if in ease I live.

(canto 19, St. 32)

Her love can only be consummated by the suffering of death, and yet she suffers because of this deprivation.

Beaumont's exploration of the connection between suffering and love is furthered by the accounts of early Christian martyrdom in canto ten. The stories of St. Andrew and St. Iphigenia are recounted in detail which recalls Prudentius:

Nayld fast unto this Honour was the *Saint*
Array'd in scarlet from his own rich Veins:
The *Grecians* took it for a torturing Paint,
And thought his *Cross* a throne of Sovereign Pains:
But He a noble Pulpit made his Tree,
A Pulpit which did preach as well as He.

(canto 10, 113)

The garment of scarlet which Andrew wears is immediately reminiscent of Crashaw's even more striking image of the "purple wardrobe of thy side" in "On the Crucified Lord".[33] Like all of the Prudentian martyrs, Andrew preaches through the pains of torture, and, like Prudentius' female martyrs, Iphigenia dies to protect her holy virginity,[34] declaring that: "I may to no *Pagan Spouse* be tied/ Whom to an *Heav'nly Bridegroom* am affied."[35]

Beaumont places more emphasis on the soul's agony in the negative position of being without God's love, than the Crashavian pain of ecstatic love. Psyche

---

[33] "On Our Crucified Lord", l. 4.

[34] For discussion of female Martyrs and the status of virginity in the early church, see Jean LaPorte, The Role of Women in Early Christianity (New York and Toronto, 1982), pp. 7-23 and 70-77.

[35] Canto 10, St. 130, ll. 5-6.

repeatedly wishes to die for love because the pain of separation is so terrible. This leads her even to vow that she would bear the pain of being in hell, if she were assured of the spouse's love:

> My Heart doth pant for *Thee, and onely Thee;*
> And, could *Thou* be in *Hell*, I never more
> Would *Loose a looking up to Heav'n*, but be
> Inamoured of that *Abysse*.
>
> (canto 14, St. 303. ll 1-4)

The love that the soul professes is seen as entirely fitting for a woman, since it is reactive to the spouse. However, such a reactive love is not only a female condition. In a manuscript of private prayers and devotions Beaumont repeatedly bemoans his separation from God, and asks to be wounded with the pain of love:

> O suavissime Domine quando vere & toto corde te amabo; quando dulce illud mandatum implibo [sic] et felix ero! Novi te amabilem ipse super omnia, novi caetera, nisi propter te, infra omnem amorem iure subsidere, quare ego non rapior et accendor amore tuo! Tange pectus meam sacro illo igne, ne infausto hoc aenigmate diutius tenear.[36]
>
> Oh most sweet lord, when shall I truely love you with my whole heart? When shall I be filled with that sweet intoxication, and be blessed? I know that you are loveable above everything, and that all other things are lovely because of you, and that all love is under the sway of your law. So why am I not seized and taken up by your love? Touch my breast with your sacred fire, so that I shall not be held by this unhappy confusion any longer.

Elsewhere he imagines himself in a more passive role as he prays, "saucia cor meum, Domine, ut vel sanguis lachrimisve miseram tuam defleat."[37] (wound my heart, Lord, that I may weep for your sorrows with tears of blood). Beaumont is frustrated and feels that his love must always be passive, and reactive to God. He is

---

[36] Joseph Beaumont, Private Prayers and Devotions, Peterhouse Ms 445, p. 96. (Ms is paginated by hand)

[37] Beaumont, Private Prayers, p. 63.

continually convinced that he is insufficiently loving. He even feels that to ask for God to love him may be too presumptuous:

> Non peto ut Tu me amare velis ...; sed ut ego Te amem, & nihil nisi propter Te. Infunde mihi generosa desideria, ductile cor effice, trahe me post Te quacumque placet via, modo Te sequar et consequar.[38]
>
> I do not seek that you should wish to love, but that I should love you, and nothing unless it is because of you. Fill me with benevolent concern, and make my heart yielding, and draw me after you on whatever path you please, as long as it is one I can follow.

As he portrays Psyche as weak, and at the mercy of others, so he describes himself as in need of help even to love God. The prayers are filled with a pervasive fear of abandonment and lack of love from God, which also seems to have informed his writing of Psyche.

In Psyche, love becomes compulsively linked to pain. Yet the ultimate paradox of such agony in separation is that through this she gains the closest relationship with and understanding of the spouse:

> Upon this *Olivet* my *Calvary*
> I finde, and to my *Crosse* am *nailed here*:
> Ten thousand *Torments* in my Bosome lie,
> And full as many *Thorns* as planted were
> Upon thy *Tempels*, in my *Heart* doe stick,
> Where all the *Bowels of my Soule* they prick.
>
> *O Love*! Why must *thine onely Tyranny*
> The bounds of other *Cruelties* exceed?
> Why will it not allow the *Courtesie*
> *Of Death*, unto thy Vassals, who are *Dead*
> By its *reviving Slaughters*, and desire
> To be *free Holocausts in thy sweet Fire*.
>
> (canto 14, St. 308-9)

Despite the perception of such pain as the spouse's cruelty, it enables her to

---

[38] Beaumont, Private Prayers, p. 68.

experience the pain of crucifixion, and thus in a sense to be close to the spouse. Two registers of love and pain have thus become distinct. Though she seeks the Teresian ecstatic agony of union with her spouse in "reviving slaughters" and "sweet fire", it is through a more emphatic and less complex pain of loss that she enters into loving mutuality.

In canto 13 the Virgin stands, physically, close to the cross, but is able to become so close to her son because she imaginatively shares in his pain. This process is so complete, that Beaumont described the suffering of crucifixion actually happening to her:

> *Her Temples* are with thick-set *Thorns* hedg'd in,
> *Nail'd* unto Tortures are *Her* dainty *Feet*,
> *Tatter'd* and *mangled* is *Her* tender *Skin*,
> *Her Flesh plow'd up, Her veins wide open set.*
> (St. 336, ll. 1-4)

Thus, as a model for the relationship of the soul with the spouse, her experience suggests that it is only through sharing in Christ's suffering, that worshipers are able to enter into any mutual relationship with God. He thus produces a poetic adaptation of the doctrine of accommodation, which states that man may only come close to God through sharing his pain.[39]

At this stage in the poem, it becomes hard to tell whether the allegorical Psyche speaks, or whether the poet is providing words for his own predicament. The language here is the simplest, and most powerfully eloquent of the whole epic. It deals with the poet's own despair at his isolation from God in a period of actual physical isolation, and is far more compelling than the minor poems in which he

---

[39] For discussion of this doctrine, see William Kerrigan, "The Fearful Accommodations of John Donne," ELR, 4 (1974), 337-63.

speaks in his own persona.

It would seem irrelevant to speculate on the personal feelings of a writer, and whether he speaks through created character. However, in Beaumont's case, such an approach is legitimated by the text itself. One of the most intense passages describing Psyche's love occurs in the description of her taking communion. The language of ecstasy is again deployed to describe this:

> Whilst in this dainty Agony she lay,
> Into her Mouth the *Priest* gives her her *Blisse*.
> Which to her Heart directly took its way
> And drown'd it in exuberant Sweetnesses:
> (canto 12, St. 183, ll 1-4)

Almost as if he is jealous of his own creation's joy, the narrator's own voice then breaks in to deplore the lack of this rite, not in the world of allegory, but in his own existence. This is not unexpected after the somewhat threadbare pretence that it is Phylax who is appalled by the schisms surrounding the Eucharist. He condemns Puritans who do not respect the altar, but praises:

> ... those brave Lovers, of whose generous breast
> *Jesus* intire possession has took,
> Are so inamored of this royal *Feast*,
> That with all humble Reverence they look
> Upon it,
> (canto 12, St. 167 ll 1-5)

Though theoretically still within the epic world, even love cannot escape politicisation. To be a true and committed lover, for Beaumont, one cannot withdraw from a politically or theologically controversial world.

In common with epic convention, the narrator speaks in his own voice at the opening of each canto, and at times does comment directly on the political

situation.[40] The following passage, however, is the most unusual political reference, since Beaumont steps away even from his narratorial role, and speaks directly of his own agony:

> But o, my *Heart*, why art Thou stealing thus
> From thine own Woes, thy Neighbours to deplore?
> Time was, when (whilst thine unfledged Wickednesse
> Flew not at Heav'ns long patient face, nor tore
> This Judgement thence,) I once a Week at least
> Could at this *Bord of Blessings* be a *Guest*.

This passage has left the epic world, and entered the real England of the 1640s. He goes on to explain that for fourteen months he could not take communion. This is not Psyche's predicament, nor are we ever lead to believe that any fault of hers, however misguided she may be, could lead God to give up his love for her, as Beaumont hints in the parenthesis. This mysterious fall from grace is explained further:

> I went indeed, But a *Forbidden Tree*
> Straight woo'd my liquorish Hand, and foolish I
> Beleev'd the flattering Bait, and would not see
> How treacherous an Hook beneath did lie.
> Dear, wonderous dear, this heedlesse fault did cost Me,
> For all my heav'nly Joys and Powers it lost Me.
> (canto 12, St. 194)

He blames his lack of the Eucharist for his lack of poetic inspiration:

> Had I my wonted share in that dear *Feast*
> Which with celestiall Spirits embraves the Heart;
> A fairer *Banquet* I for You had drest;
> Who now can onely by my pined Smart
> Warn You to prize, and to imbrace with most
> Religious Tendernesse, what I have lost.
> (canto 12, St. 198)

The pain caused is eminently private, and he grieves for a personal loss of his

---

[40] Canto 17, St. 20ff.

relationship with heaven, and the knowledge of God's love. But his suffering is caused by the religious and political circumstances of the times. For Psyche, the most intense earthly experience of God's love is at the Eucharist; but the writer is less free than his fictional creation. This renders Beaumont's evocation of the soul's search for love even more pathetic. He writes of love in a fictional world, but the pain of his own loss of such love eventually proves too great. His own loss of God's love is tied to a reality that he cannot prevent from intruding.

It is impossible to know for sure what the misdemeanour for which he castigates himself was. As far as we know, Beaumont was the model of a loyal Royalist Laudian, who never betrayed his beliefs. He retained the patronage of Bishop Wren throughout the Interregnum. The livings to which he was appointed after his ejection from Peterhouse, were sequestrated by Parliament.[41] This indicates that his devotional stance, along with that of many other Royalist clergy, was unacceptable to Parliament. He then became Wren's chaplain, and married his daughter, and finally was appointed to the Mastership of Peterhouse after the Restoration. The only remaining clue is in the editor's preface to the 1749 edition of the minor poems:

> In order to bring all his Writings before the Restoration in view together, some passages of his Life, in the interval between his expulsion from the University, and that time when the nation returned to its true and antient establishment, have been designedly omitted.[42]

This was written by John Gee, fellow of Peterhouse, and a friend of Beaumont's

---

[41] See A.G. Matthews, Walker Revised, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1988), p. 197.

[42] Beaumont, Poems, p. xxvii.

son, who would have been keen not to embarrass his friend and patron.[43] No previous account exists. It may be that Beaumont in some way compromised with or aided the parliamentary regime. This idea might be supported by Gee's evidence in the memoir that the parliamentary candidate who took over Beaumont's fellowship promised to pay his former salary,[44] and apparently did so,[45] despite Fuller's evidence that most of the ejected fellows were not so fortunate.[46] This may, however, just indicate a friendship between the two men.

It is also possible that the "fault" may have been a brief flirtation with Catholicism. Although no absolute proof exists for this, the evidence of the Private Prayers supports this idea. It is not possible to date the manuscript, but Beaumont's request not to be disturbed by "war or rumours of war", locates them at some time just before, or during the civil war period. In the same meditation he accuses himself of breaking faith and promises to God, which disturbs him deeply.[47] This may have been a purely spiritual conflict, but only a few days later, (the meditations are written daily), comes a much less ambiguous statement:

> Si in negotio Catholica Ecclesia cor meum me fefellit, illustra tenebras eius, impedimenta amputa, & pro infinita tua bonitate, dum

---

[43] T.A. Walker, ed. Memoirs of Joseph Beaumont (Cambridge 1934), introduction, (no pagination).

[44] Walker, Memoirs, p. 1, states that "He received a letter from R. Quarles [who was an intruded fellow of Peterhouse] dated Jan 16, 1644, who writes thus, 'When a full Dividend is received I will pay your Income, and not only so but if it please God that there be an Agreement, I shall restore unto You all ye profits of ye fellowship."

[45] T.A. Walker, A History of Peterhouse (Cambridge, 1935), p. 60.

[46] Fuller, History, p. 169.

[47] Beaumont, Private Prayers, pp. 28-9.

> tempus est dirige pedes in viam salutis.[48]
>
> If my heart betrays me in the business of the Catholic Church, make clear its shadows, take away all obstacles, and through your infinite goodness, while there is still time, direct my feet in the way of health.

Later he prefaces two meditations with prayers which state that that the Holy and indivisible Catholic Church praises God.[49] It is possible that a very high Laudian might call the Anglican Church the "Catholica Ecclesia" but it seems highly unlikely. The preceding passage was also followed by anxieties about a "disease" tormenting him, which resolves itself thus: "Fluctuavit hodie anima mea inter varias de Ecclesia, atque salvationem via cogitationes." (Today my soul has been vacillating about different matters to do with the church, and thoughts about the way to salvation).[50] He then asks again that God will remove any obstacles and, significantly, any scruples he may have. There is no evidence that Beaumont actually converted to Catholicism, but it seems likely that he flirted with the idea.

A Catholic priest would have been able to give communion, and the despair that Beaumont records may have driven him to such a "forbidden tree". The civil penalties for doing this were so severe that virtually no evidence exists of any other instances of this practice. However, John Morrill shows that many congregations tried to preserve Anglican practices, and thus Catholics may have done the same.[51] This would also explain Gee's reticence in 1749, when the establishment was

---

[48] Beaumont, Private Prayers, p. 37.

[49] Beaumont, Private Prayers, pp. 130-131.

[50] Beaumont, Private Prayers, p. 78.

[51] John Morrill, "The Church in England, 1642-9," in Reactions to the English Civil War 1642-49, ed. Morrill (London, 1982). pp. 89-114.

threatened by the Catholic Jacobites.

Whatever the reason for this despair, it briefly drags the writer away from his creation, to display his own grief at exclusion. At times in Beaumont's poetry the tension between the abstract and heavenly language of ecstatic meditation, and the terrifying reality of his contemporary world becomes too great. In the poem "Charity seeketh not her own" this is expressed very clearly:

> Love never any soldiers prest
> Anothers right away to wrest;
> And though it knows
> What shafts and Bows
> And Battells mean, all its Artillerie
> Weapons of Sweetnes and Delicacie be.
> (St. 3)

Love is described in Psyche as using figurative weapons, and causing the same type of delicious wounds used here. However, the stanza implies that one of the evils of the world is to use such force, and that to do so shows a lack of love. The background of the war is never far away in Psyche, and if actual warfare is opposed to love, this adds an extra layer of paradox to the portrayal of love's violence. In the epic world love has the strength to be sacrificed for others. Yet in his long consideration of Christ's sacrifice and its commemoration in the Eucharist, Beaumont cannot forget that love cannot prevent a bloody conflict in his own world:

> Sweet *Jesu*! O how can thy World forget
> Their *royall Saviour*, and his Bounty, who
> Upon their *Tables his own Self* hath set;
> Who in their holy *Cups* fails not to flow,
> And in their *Dishes* lie. Did ever friend
> So sure a Token of his Love commend?
> (canto 12, St. 81)

Love, it seems, is all powerful within the world of Psyche as it is as potent in commanding allegiance from his followers when personified as a royal commander, as in inspiring passion in Psyche, who is finally united with her spouse through

martyrdom. Beaumont was a Royalist, who emphasises throughout Psyche the importance of loyalty and deference to the earthly king. Perhaps because of this, his conception of the love that humanity should show to God is consistently linked to humility and obedience to the heavenly ruler. Psyche is taught that only through compliance with God's will, can she gain his love.

It is important, therefore, to distinguish between different types of suffering associated with Beaumont's expression of religious love. The two types of suffering may be characterised as active and passive. Active suffering is the type which Beaumont's character Psyche, or Crashaw's Teresa feel: that is, a desire to experience pain, and even martyrdom. They are ambitious for this pain as a way of attaining a closer communication with God, and a greater understanding of the love and pain of the crucifixion.

Passive suffering is caused by the feeling of being excluded from God's love. Both Psyche, and Beaumont himself, find it difficult always to be the passive recipients of divine love. Psyche is willing to suffer torments for her love. However, she suffers because she is excluded from pain, and through it union with God. Paradoxically it is the pain of separation which proves more acute that any physical suffering which she can envisage.

The pain of loss and separation is felt by her creator, which is shown not only by the Private Prayers, but also his first person intervention in canto twelve. For the poet, the actual physical separation of man from God seems a barrier that makes any relationship of love fraught with difficulty. The barriers which politics have placed about him also seem insurmountable. Even in the epic world, the doctrinal wrangles and actual strife of warfare cannot be excluded. Even while

Beaumont attempts to celebrate a union of love between the soul and God, he cannot resist intruding his own pain into the narrative. In "The Flaming Heart", Crashaw wrote:

> Love's Passives are his activ'st part.
> The Wounded is the wounding heart.
> (ll 73-4)

This shows his desire to celebrate the value of those who are acted upon by love and pain, as well as those who act. It is Crashaw's investigation of the connection between love and suffering which the final chapter will concentrate upon.

## Chapter Eight: "An Innocent, Harmless, Convert"

> Aeternal love! what 'tis to love thee well,
> None, but himselfe who feeles it, none can tell.
> But oh, what to be lov'd of thee as well,
> None, but himselfe who feeles it, none can tell.

This neglected fragment of Crashaw's poetry, called "In Amorem Divinum", or "Upon divine love", is part of The Tanner Manuscript 465 in the Bodleian Library. It provides an ideal epigraph, since it embodies the two connected themes of the last two chapters. It is a translation of part of a very much longer poem, by the Jesuit writer, Hermanus Hugo, the "Pia Desideria".[1] It thus exemplifies Crashaw's connection with Catholic thought, and his artistic and religious concerns in miniature. The need to define and understand divine love, and the wish to enter into a loving relationship with God are concerns which his poetry constantly expresses.

The final chapter will discuss these themes, in connection with the poems which Crashaw wrote in hymn form. Many of these poems appeared for the first time in the 1648 edition of Steps to the Temple, and it has long been supposed that he wrote them after his conversion to Catholicism. In the last chapter of the thesis, I shall discuss whether there is a continuity of thought and expression from some of the earlier hymns to those which exhibit a more openly Catholic sensibility.

Before I consider the question of how far the poems themselves may exhibit a more Catholic sensibility, however, in this chapter I will try to determine how, and at what stage in his life, Crashaw might have come into contact with the

---

[1] R.V. Young, "Jonson, Crashaw, and the Development of the English Epigram," Genre, 12 (1979), 137-152, (p. 149). Hugo was one of several Jesuit poets who attempted to create poems in epigrammatic form which expressed love for God.

teachings of the Catholic Church. The 1648 edition of Steps to the Temple was published in London during his exile in Rome, and Carmen deo Nostro in Paris in 1652, five years after Crashaw's death, and six years after he had left Paris. Five of the hymns which appear for the first time were based on Catholic Hymns of the Church, "Vexilla Regis", "Adoro Te", "Lauda Sion", "O Gloriosa Domina" and "Dies Irae". It could therefore be argued that Crashaw's conversion to Catholicism could have affected the way in which he conceived, and wrote of his relationship with God; perhaps his greater security within the Catholic church gave him the courage to express a personal commitment to God: perhaps his conception of human and divine love changed as a result. To consider this possibility it is necessary to reconstruct, as far as the meagre evidence will allow, what may have happened to Crashaw and his poems after he left Cambridge in 1643.

The question of the changes apparent in the 1648 Steps to the Temple, and Carmen Deo Nostro is a complex one, which I shall approach in three stages. Firstly, can we be sure that Crashaw was responsible for the new poems in the volume, and changes to those which had appeared in the 1646 edition? If so, must they be as a result of his conversion, and thus exposure to the tradition of European Catholicism? Finally, must this exposure to Roman Catholic thought have been possible only after his departure from Cambridge?

In attempting to solve the first of these problems, one of the most obvious difficulties is the fact that these texts were published, either when Crashaw was in exile, or posthumously. Several poems show considerable revision in the later version, and this has been assumed to have been authorial. L.C. Martin, the editor of the first critical edition of Steps to the Temple, assumed that the new poems were all written while he was in exile, after his conversion to Catholicism. He also

assumed that changes which were made to earlier poems are authorial.[2] Because of his conjecture, a further assumption has been made, that such changes must have been intended as revisions, and so critics have considered them to be improvements on the previous versions. However, the authority of the second versions seems at least doubtful.

When the vocabulary used in the amended parts of the second versions is examined by using a concordance,[3] it is clear that unusually large numbers of words are used for the first and only time in Crashaw's oeuvre, or are only used again in other amended sections. For example, in "The Weeper", stanzas 15-25 have been added, and some emendations made to the vocabulary of the original stanzas. Many critics have objected to the extravagant metaphors used in the second version of "the Weeper", especially lines 5-6 in stanza 19: "Two walking baths; two weeping motions;/ Portable and compendious oceans."[4] However, of the ten words in these lines, four are used for the first and only time in this poem. They are "walking", "baths", "portable" and "compendious", words vital to the construction of two of the three metaphors in the lines. This is not an isolated example. Other metaphors like "a voluntary mint" in stanza 21 are constructed using words which only appear in this poem. This also happens in "On a Prayer Book", where lines 2-10 of the second version are new, and in line one "large" is changed to "great". The conceit

---

[2] Martin, p. xxxviii.

[3] Robert M. Cooper, A Concordance to the English Poetry of Richard Crashaw, (Troy, New York, 1981).

[4] Edmund Gosse called them "perhaps the worst lines in English Poetry," in "Richard Crashaw," The Cornhill Magazine, 47 (1883), 424-38, (p.433). "The Weeper"'s imagery was also condemned by William Empson, in Some Versions of the Pastoral, (London, 1935), p. 83, and John Peter, "Crashaw and 'The Weeper,'" Scrutiny, 19 (1953), 258-273, (p. 258).

that the book must, metaphorically, be bound into the woman's breast is entirely new, and again, some of the more complex words, like "disdaining", "comly", "confidently" and "binding" itself, are used for the first and only time in this section.

This might conceivably suggest that Crashaw suddenly acquired a much larger literary vocabulary and chose only to use new words once. However, in view of the large amount of new vocabulary that is used in amended sections of poems and never used again, it seems plausible that these sections could have been added by another writer. Since these changes were made in the 1648 and 1652 editions, the first of which was published after Crashaw had left England, and the second posthumously, it would have been impossible for Crashaw to have checked the proofs in person. We know that the 1652 edition was edited by Thomas Carr and that therefore someone else had the final say over the presentation of Crashaw's work, and so changes could have been made without Crashaw's knowledge. The practice of "editing" the work of another writer was, it seems, quite common at the time, judging by the evidence of Crashaw's contemporary, Abraham Cowley.

In his preface to his Poems of 1656, Cowley complains about the practice of adulterating work before publication. He protests about:

> The publication of some things of mine without my consent or knowledge, and those so mangled and imperfect, that I could neither with honour acknowledge, nor with honesty quite disavow them... From this which has happened to my self, I began to reflect on the fortune of all *Writers*, and especially *Poets*, whose *Works* (commonly printed after their deaths) we finde stuffed out, either with *counterfeit pieces*, like *false Money* put in to fill up the *Bag*, though it add nothing to the *sum*; or with such, which though of their own *Coyn*, they would have called in themselves, for the baseness of the *Allay*; ... This has been the case with *Shakespear, Fletcher, Johnson*, and

many others.[5]

He blames this on well meaning friends who prefer quantity to quality as a monument to the dead poet, or avaricious stationers who seek to make more money from a bigger book. Whoever was responsible for the subsequent revisions in Crashaw's text, this passage suggests that seventeenth century printers and editors may at times have felt that it was legitimate to tamper with an author's original text. Certainly, the passages which have been added to Crashaw's text may be seen as "false money" as several of them are detrimental to the sense of the poem.[6] This suggests that Crashaw may have been falsely charged for someone else's extravagances. It is, of course, almost impossible to prove that the poems were "edited", or indeed to be sure who made the additions. However, the assumption that they are authorial and intended as revision of the earlier text now appears to be no more than an assumption, and a vulnerable one at that.

We do, however, know that Carmen Deo Nostro was seen through the press by an editor, "Thomas Carr", a pseudonym for Miles Pinkney. Pinkney was a Jesuit priest, ordained in 1625, who was resident in Paris during the 1640s.[7] In the prefatory poem to Carmen deo Nostro, "Crashawe the Anagramme He Was Carre" he states that:

> Sweete Crashawe was his friend; He Crashawe's brother.
> So Car hath Title then; t'was his intent
> That what his riches pen'd, poore Car should print
>
> (ll 10-12)

---

[5] Abraham Cowley, Poems, (London, 1656)

[6] See for example the discussion of "A Hymne of the holy Nativity" above, p.159.

[7] Charles Dodd, Church History of England (Brussels, 1739-42), III, p. 18.

We cannot be sure that it was Crashaw and not Carre who made alterations to the text, or whether he had been responsible in any way for the changes to the 1648 edition, or had any contact with its editor. If such additions reflect a more Catholic sensibility, then it may be because of the editor's Catholicism and not the writer's. The whole theme of this opening poem is that Carre and Crashaw are so closely knit in friendship that they become indistinguishable. Just as Beaumont had hoped that Crashaw would "edit" Psyche for him, so this kind of alteration of a friend's text may have been thought quite acceptable.[8] Cowley was also in Paris with the exiled court, and Warren thinks that he introduced Crashaw to Carre.[9] If so he would have been in a good position to know the fate of his friend's poems. It may be that he was thinking of Crashaw when he complained about the alteration of some authors' texts.

Despite the doubtful nature of the revisions made to earlier poems, it remains possible that the new poems may have been influenced by the practices of continental Catholicism. To determine how far this is so, it is necessary to construct an account of Crashaw's last four years. Several biographical accounts of Crashaw's life have been written by Martin, Warren, Healy and Wallerstein. However, although all are informative about Crashaw's time in Cambridge, many questions remain unanswered about his subsequent life in exile. Although Healy's account of the influence of Laudianism in Cambridge on Crashaw's poetry is excellent, he only deals with the period of exile extremely briefly.[10] Martin produces an account based

---

[8] See Joseph Beaumont, Psyche (1648 edition), Canto 4, st. 94-5.

[9] Warren, Crashaw, p. 53.

[10] Healy, pp. 40-1.

on some of the very few documents that provide evidence about Crashaw's life after 1643, but does not discuss the possible effect on Crashaw of the political tensions in 1640s Europe, nor does he suggest any ways in which Crashaw's circumstances may have affected his writing.[11] Warren does consider the effect of exile on Crashaw's writing, but in doing so, makes completely unfounded assumptions that Crashaw was finally accepted and secure in exile as he had never been in Cambridge.[12] Wallerstein produces a brief account of his period in exile, and only she suggests that Crashaw may have been less than content abroad. She also frames, but cannot answer, the important question of how Crashaw's poetry may have been affected by his exile:

> We should like most to know whether amid its turmoils Crashaw was able to secure any of that quiet consecration to the life of devotion which he had left in Peterhouse, and whether such a life was necessary to his poetry.[13]

It is this problem that I shall attempt to solve in the following chapter. Despite the lack of evidence which survives about the final period of Crashaw's life, it is possible to attempt to provide answers to some remaining problems regarding Crashaw's relationship with Catholicism, and to question the widespread assumption that once in exile he finally found devotional security.

The only remaining letter written by Crashaw was sent from Leyden in February 1643. It was found amongst the papers of the Ferrar family of Little Gidding, and was thought to have been sent either to John Ferrar, brother of

---

[11] Martin, pp. xxv-xxxviii.

[12] Warren, Crashaw, pp. 46-56.

[13] Wallerstein, p. 32.

Nicholas Ferrar, or to Mary Collett's father.[14] However, Elsie Duncan-Jones argues persuasively that the recipient was, in fact, Joseph Beaumont.[15] It is not known why Crashaw was in Leyden, or how long he had stayed, but he proposes to resign his fellowship at Peterhouse, knowing that he would have been ejected. He suggests that Ferrar Collett should take up the fellowship, so that some of the stipend from it may be sent to Crashaw.

Not only does the Leyden Letter demonstrate Crashaw's parlous financial state, but also his desperate unhappiness at being exiled from his "little contentfull kingdom" in Cambridge. He expresses an intense unhappiness at the irreligiousness of Leyden, which suggests a need to move to a place where he can be part of a spiritual community of those similar to himself. In the letter he makes ambiguous references to "my mother". This has been interpreted as a reference to Mary Collett, though it is not known what she might have been doing in Leyden at the time. In the first instance this seems to be likely.[16] However, he mentions a mother again towards the end of the letter, and it seems possible that this is not Mary Collet but "Mother Church". Herbert, for example, had addressed the church as "deare mother",[17] it may be that Crashaw is using the same metaphor. When quoted at length the religious context becomes apparent, after mentioning his desire for a

---

[14] E. Cruwys Sharland, "Richard Crashaw and Mary Collet," Church Quarterly Review, 73 (1912), 358-385. For information about Crashaw's association with Little Gidding, see P. Peckard, Memoirs of the Life of Mr Nicholas Ferrar (Cambridge, 1790), p. 243.

[15] Elsie Elizabeth Duncan-Jones, "Who was the Recipient of Crashaw's Leyden Letter?" in Roberts, New Perspectives, pp. 174-179.

[16] "Leyden Letter", (transcript in Martin) p. xxviii, ll. 22 ff.

[17] George Herbert, "The British Church", l. 1.

"resignation of all to God", he continues:

> I confess this last peece of my persecution the very soorest I yet have suffered, in my exclusion and complete excommunication from my gratious mother to whome I had so holy and happy adherence, ... my extrusion and exhaeretitation hence, I say has been such a concussion of mee such a dislocation of my whole condition, as puts me into the greatest exigence, both spirituall and temporall I was ever cast into. ... But what now remaines to be don with this desolate thing, this that is left of mee; what must I doe? what must I bee? If I must be anything of a religious being here I must not be. (p. xxx, ll. 23-40)

Even if this is intended to represent Mary Collett, it is interesting that such a situation causes him to use the language of religious persecution and excommunication. At the very least this shows us how painful this "spirituall and temporall" exile was. It is also obvious that religious considerations are forcing him to move on. From this letter we gain an impression of a man who still felt an outsider, and if the "mother" is a reference to the church, then it is in devotional terms that this is most keenly felt. This certainly confirms the impression of the early poems, of a man excluded from, but at the same time desperate to discover, closeness with God.

Towards the end of the letter, he intimates that he has considered turning his "weak soul to severer courses" but that he is "not at present purposed for fixing".[18] This may well be a reference to a temptation to convert. He implies that his predicament is not only a response to spiritual desolation, but a need for temporal funding:

> Nay I am so wretched that I am sometimes even carefull for some meanes whereby to maintain my travells so as to keep me from the necessity of engagement withersoever I goe. For this purpose, what of mine you can procure for me ... will be sesonably welcome. (p.

---

[18] "Leyden Letter", p. xxxi, l. 11.

xxxi, ll. 12-17)

His plan to derive some income from the resigned fellowship was to fail, since Collett himself was ejected in 1644 for refusing to accept the covenant.[19] Following the failure of the Collet scheme it may be that Crashaw felt compelled to take up some "engagement". This may refer to finding a post in the exiled court.

From Leyden, it has been suggested that he may have gone to join the Royalist Court in Oxford. Wood records that a "Rich. Crashaw of Cambridge" was living in the University of Oxford at this time, although his degree was not officially incorporated.[20] There is definite evidence that Crashaw went to Paris. A letter sent by Queen Henrietta Maria to recommend Crashaw to the Pope, dated 7th September, 1646, says that he has been living in Paris for nearly a year at this point. Her letter makes it clear that he has already converted to Catholicism.[21] The suggestion of finding an "engagement" in the Leyden letter may also refer to becoming involved with the Catholic church. Larsen maintains that it was common for the Jesuits to give some kind of financial support to their converts, and Crashaw may have been aware of this fact. The account book of the English College in Rome shows that Crashaw received payments from a Father Richard Barton in Paris. Barton had been the Rector of the English College at Liège, and Larsen suggests that Crashaw may have converted there, since there was a thriving community of

---

[19] Martin, p. xxvii.

[20] Anthony Wood, "Fasti Oxonienses", in Athenae Oxonienses (Oxford, 1692), II, col. 688.

[21] CSPD, Charles I, (1645-7), 514, Item 56, p. 467.

exiled Royalists in the city.[22] It may have seemed the only means of survival open to him.

Even from the earliest accounts of his life, conversion to Catholicism has been perceived as an almost inevitable development for someone of Crashaw's devotional sensibilities. David Lloyd was one of the first biographers of Crashaw to explain his conversion in purely devotional terms:

> This Divine poet ... seeing Atheism prevailing in *England*, embraced Popery in *Italy*, chusing rather to live in the Communion of a corrupt Church, in the practise of fundamental truths; confessed to be mixed then with some errors, than to stay here where there was hardly the face of any Church, after the overthrow of those to make way for all errors.[23]

This extract makes no mention of economic necessity, but, following in the tradition of Herbertian hagiography,[24] it would be expected that all motivations of a "poet and Saint" should be seen as devotional.[25]

The Laudian faction in Cambridge had been suspected of Catholic sympathies[26] and it might therefore be assumed that conversion to Catholicism would be an inevitable step further for a devout man such as Crashaw. However,

---

[22] Kenneth Larsen, "Some Light on Richard Crashaw's Final Years in Rome," Modern Language Review, 66 (1971), 492-6, (p. 493).

[23] Lloyd, p. 619.

[24] The portrayal of the saintly Herbert was begun by Nicholas Ferrar in his Preface to the 1633 edition of The Temple, and continued in Izaac Walton's "Life" in The Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wooton, Mr. Richard Hooker and Mr. George Herbert (London, 1670).

[25] Cowley, "On the Death of Mr. Crashaw", l. 1. From the preface to Steps to the Temple onwards, Crashaw had been praised for his intense piety,

[26] See Fuller, p. 166.

this is not necessarily the case. Joseph Beaumont, though undoubtedly holding very similar views to those of Crashaw did not go into exile, or convert, at least publicly. John Cosin, who had been Master of Peterhouse during Crashaw's time as a fellow, and who was one of Archbishop Laud's closest allies, was also in the exiled court in Paris. He acted as Henrietta Maria's Protestant Chaplain,[27] and worked assiduously to try to prevent exiles from converting.[28] Indeed, in 1646 Cosin wrote in a letter to Richard Watson, the chaplain to the Royalist general Lord Hopton:

> of Mr. *Crashaw*, etc. I know too much, but I am more glad to hear you say, that you have no thought of following the ungracious and fond fancies. God ever preserve you and me in our old ways of Truth; from which no Persecution shall ever drive us.[29]

Crashaw had probably converted before he reached Paris, but the letter does demonstrate that conversion was seen as abhorrent even by the Laudian faction. Indeed, in the years before the Civil War, far from trying to facilitate England's return to Rome, Laud himself had been bitterly opposed to the Catholic faction at court. He urged the King to treat Catholics more harshly, and in 1637 issued a proclamation against them in his own authority.[30] Even Crashaw's friend Cowley felt it necessary to apologise to the readership of his elegy "On the death of Mr. Crashaw" for Crashaw's "error".[31]

---

[27] Elizabeth Hamilton, Henrietta Maria (London, 1976) p. 237.

[28] E. E. Phare, "The Conversion of Crashaw's Countess of Denbeigh," The Cambridge Review, 54, no. 1322 (1932), 147-9, (p. 147).

[29] Richard Watson, The Rt. Rev. John Cosin (London, 1684), p.15.

[30] Caroline Hibbard, Charles I and the Popish Plot (Chapel Hill, 1983), pp. 61-2.

[31] Cowley, "On the Death of Mr. Crashaw", ll. 47-58.

Henrietta Maria had always favoured Catholics at court,[32] especially converts, and he may have hoped that, as a result, he would find a position in the exiled court. In addition, unlike the irreligious Leyden, Paris was apparently a haven of piety. Thomas Carre wrote that:

> Besides these general pious practises [sic] of the people, which they exercise every day in the week all *Paris* over, there is scarce one day in which there is not some particular solemnity, at one Church or Monastery or another.[33]

If the poems which Carre brought to press were written during his period in Paris, then it may at first appear likely that a change to writing in the first-person, and a more direct expression of love for God could be explained by his changed personal and devotional circumstances. On this reading we can construct a picture of Crashaw, living in and being patronised by the exiled court, and as a result, presumably, financially secure one more. Since he was finally reconciled to the Catholic Church instead of part of one of the contentious factions in English Protestantism, it could be argued that the increased first-person writing and use of the ostensibly Catholic hymn as a literary form, indicates a poet at last at the centre of things, and able to express his love more directly.

Whatever Crashaw's motivation for going to Paris was, a secure life was not what he found. It might well be assumed that a poet living in the exiled court would be at least financially secure. This certainly was the case for some of his contemporaries at court. Abraham Cowley had secured a post as secretary to Baron Jermyn while at Oxford, and in Paris he was responsible for writing the encoded

---

[32] Hibbard, p. 40.

[33] Thomas Carre, Pietas Parisiensis (Paris, 1646), p. 2.

correspondence between the Queen and Charles I.[34] While doing so, he lived in the Louvre Palace, and since the Queen was, at least initially, payed a generous pension by her sister-in-law Anne of Austria, the Queen regent, life at the court must have been relatively luxurious.[35] Another writer in exile, John Evelyn, was sufficiently independently wealthy to establish his own lavishly kept house in Paris.[36] However it seems that this sort of life was not enjoyed by Crashaw. He had no independent fortune with which to support himself and despite his conversion seems to have been at least as penurious as he had been in Leyden. Wood explains that: "being a meer Scholar and very shiftless, Mr *Abraham Cowley* the Poet, did, upon intimation of his being there, find him out in a sorry condition, *an*. 1646 or thereabouts."[37] Wood attributes any favour that Crashaw may have gained to Cowley's influence at court, and not his own. His status as a convert certainly does not seem to have won him any favour with the court before Cowley's intervention. If he was so poor it also seems unlikely that he was receiving any money from the Jesuits. Perhaps they were only willing to support a convert once he had enrolled in a College.

At some time in Oxford or Paris he had met Susan, Countess of Denb igh, who was the Queen's first lady of the bedchamber. Since he dedicated Carmen Deo Nostro to her, he must have been patronised by her to some extent. However, although seemingly impressive, his patronage from the Countess of Denbeigh may have been worth very little in monetary terms. The Countess was a widow, whose

---

[34] See Arthur H. Nethercot, Abraham Cowley (Oxford, 1931), p. 112.

[35] Hamilton, p. 211, states that she received 300,000 livres as a pension.

[36] Nethercot, p. 96.

[37] Wood, II, Col. 688.

husband, William Fielding, had been killed fighting for the Royalists.[38] As a result she had very little access to any income of her own with which to support herself and her daughter. Indeed her final conversion to Catholicism appears to have been precipitated by the Queen's threat to withhold their wages if she and her daughter did not convert.[39] It seems unlikely, then, that she would have had very much money to spare on maintaining an indigent poet.

It may be that Crashaw's poem "A letter to the Countess of Denbeigh", which attempts to persuade her to convert to Catholicism, was part of an attempt to win favour with the Queen. Henrietta Maria's determination to win converts was well known,[40] and he may have hoped that the poem would come to her notice. Whatever his hopes may have been, he seems to have been almost as much of an outsider as before, and the only actual favour that we know the Queen did for him was to write the letter of introduction to the Pope. The anonymous author of Legenda Lignea says that to pay for the journey Crashaw was again dependent on the generosity of some "vainglorious ladies". He clearly disapproved of what he saw as Crashaw's attempts at poetic flattery of court ladies. But if his allegation is true, then Crashaw's status in Paris was highly precarious.[41]

Ultimately Crashaw was to fare no better at Rome, but Henrietta Maria may not have been aware of the changes that had recently taken place there. Sending him

---

[38] Phare, p. 147.

[39] Phare, p. 148. For details of the Countess' widowhood and exile, see Cecilia, Countess of Denbigh, Royalist Father and Roundhead Son (London, 1915), pp. 190-3.

[40] Hamilton, p. 51.

[41] Legenda Lignea (London, 1653), p. 170.

to Rome may have been perceived as a positive favour. One of her favourite courtiers, Walter Montagu, had been sent to Rome on a diplomatic mission in 1636. Previously a secret Catholic, he had been well received by the then Pope, Urban VIII, and ordained a priest.[42] He had accompanied the Queen into exile, as her almoner, and it may have been hoped that Crashaw's treatment would be as favourable as that which Montagu had received. Yet again, however, Crashaw was prevented from becoming an "insider", or finding any sort of spiritual home, largely because of the political circumstances in the 1640s.

Sir Robert Southwell[43] and the author of Legenda Lignea both agree that he did not find any favour in Rome when he arrived in November 1646. Its author relates that: "he is onely laughed at, or (at most) but pityed by his few Patrons, who conceiving him unworthy of any preferments in their Church have given him leave to live (like a lean Swine almost ready to starve) in a poor Mendicant quality."[44] This was partly due to the nature of the new Pope. Urban VIII, who had received Montagu so warmly, was a patron of the arts, and friendly to the English Court. But his successor, Innocent X was very different. As Legenda Lignea explains:

> *Innocent* being more harsh and dry, the poor small poet *Crawshaw*, met with none of the generation and kindred of *Maecenas*, nor any blessing from his Holiness, which misfortune puts the pitiful wier-drawer to a humour of admiring his own raptures.[45]

---

[42] Gordon Albion, Charles I and the Court of Rome (London, 1935), p. 206.

[43] Sir Robert Southwell, letter from Rome to Sir John Percivale, 23. Dec, 1660. in Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont (London, 1905), 1, part 2, pp. 615-16.

[44] Legenda Lignea, pp. 170-1.

[45] Legenda Lignea, p. 169.

He obviously disapproves of poets, and explains Crashaw's lack of favour in terms of his being a writer. Crashaw's biographers, such as Warren,[46] have followed his analysis and assumed that the character of the Pope, who was an ascetic with no love for the arts, was responsible for Crashaw's lack of immediate preferment. However, it seems more likely that anyone coming from the French court, whether an exiled Englishman or not, would have been so rejected. Martin notes that a letter in which Sir Kenelm Digby complains about Crashaw's plight also includes a similar protest about Thomas Vane, who had been a royal chaplain.[47] He had, according to Digby, received a similar letter of recommendation from the Queen on September 4th 1646, only three days before Crashaw received his. Thus the two men must have arrived in Rome at much the same time, and both had been snubbed, yet as far as we know, Vane was no poet. This points to a more political motive.

Crashaw and Vane were probably ignored precisely because they were recommended by Henrietta Maria, who despite being Queen of England, was originally a French Princess, and was now residing in Paris. The Pope would therefore perceive them as clients of the French. As the result of a long-running diplomatic dispute between the Pope and the enormously powerful French minister, Cardinal Mazarin, the Pope was hostile to French interests. Mazarin had wanted his own nominee to become Pope in 1644. However Innocent X was elected and immediately proved to be pro-Spanish.[48] He also refused to elect Mazarin's brother

---

[46] Warren, Crashaw, p. 57.

[47] Reproduced in Martin, p. xxxiv. Original source Public Records Office, Series I, Bundle 94, p. 251 from Archivo Vaticano Politicorum.

[48] Pastor Ludwig von Freiherr, The History of the Popes, 30, trans. Dom. Ernest Graf (London, 1940), p. 48. For detailed discussion of this period, see Henri Colville, Mazarin et ses Démêlés avec Pape Innocent X (Paris, 1914).

Michel a cardinal.[49] Innocent was also fiercely opposed to the Barberini brothers, the nephews of Pope Urban, and when they were accused of financial corruption and forced to flee in January 1646, Mazarin compounded the feud by giving them shelter in Paris.[50] When Walter Montagu had been in Rome, Francesco Barberini had been in a powerful position, and had offered hospitality to English travellers.[51] There was no such opportunity for Crashaw when he arrived in Rome in November 1646. Furthermore the Pope had been humiliated militarily by the French during the autumn, by a force which had landed in northern Italy in July 1646.[52] When Crashaw arrived the Pope was furious with the French, and in no mood to grant concessions to their clients. Thus Crashaw was once again an unwanted outsider. Though it was probably for political, rather than devotional reasons, he had been rejected by the Church which he must have hoped would be his refuge.

Once in Rome, Crashaw stayed as a paying guest at the English College, which was run by the Jesuits and records in the account book show that he received no income, other than that from the Jesuits during 1646-7.[53] It seems that he was finally taken on to the staff of Cardinal Palotta,[54] either in very late 1647 or early 1648.[55] This may have been due to a the letter which Digby wrote to admonish the

---

[49] von Freiherr, p. 49.

[50] Guth, pp. 348-9.

[51] Albion, p. 203.

[52] Paul Guth, Mazarin (Paris, 1972), pp. 362-3.

[53] Larsen, "Some Light", p. 493.

[54] Cardinal Palotta's letter of Appointment is to be found in Archivo Storico del Pio Instituto di Santa Casa, "Registro di lettere Apostoliche, Ordini etc.", iv, (1645-72), fo. 25v. -7v, and is reproduced in Martin, p. 420.

[55] The records of the English College show that he did not leave until

Pope in November 1647.[56] However Digby's negotiations with the Pope over money for the Royalist cause had been far from successful,[57] and John Aubrey wrote that the Pope was so offended by him that he thought Digby was mad.[58] It seems far more likely that Crashaw was once again at the mercy of political circumstances. The diplomatic problems between Mazarin and Innocent began to ease at Christmas 1646 when the old, fiercely hard-line French ambassador, the Prince de Condé, died. He was replaced by a new one, the Marquis de Fontenay-Mareuil in May 1647. He proved much more congenial, and relations between the two powers became steadily more cordial until in October Michel Mazarin was finally made a Cardinal.[59] It seems likely that the Pope would have been far more amenable to helping Crashaw once reminded of him by Digby, but the reason for this change of heart must have been fundamentally political.

Southwell says that, as part of the Cardinal's retinue, Crashaw was payed two hundred crowns a year.[60] At last, therefore, he had a regular salary. Yet, if Bargrave is to be believed, while financially secure, Crashaw was still unhappy. Bargrave says that Crashaw told him that whilst he admired the Cardinal, he "complained extremely of the wickedness of those of his retinue".[61] As a result, he

---

January 1648. Larsen, "Some Light", p. 493.

[56] Martin, p. xxxiv.

[57] R.T. Petersson, Sir Kenelm Digby (London, 1956), pp. 216-222.

[58] John Aubrey, Brief Lives, ed. Anthony Powell (London, 1949), p. 44.

[59] Von Freiherr, p. 64.

[60] Southwell, p. 616.

[61] Dr. John Bargrave, Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals, ed. James Craigie Robertson, (London, 1867), (written in 1662) pp. 34-37. (p. 37).

claims, the Italians in the retinue were offended, and the Cardinal was forced to send him to work at the shrine of Our Lady of Loretto for his own protection. Bargrave even suspects that his death there five weeks after he arrived in April 1649 was caused by poisoning. It is doubtful whether Crashaw's life was in such danger, but it does seem likely that Crashaw would have been unhappy as part of a Cardinal's retinue. In the Leyden letter he had complained at the worldliness of the place, which he cited as a reason for leaving. Southwell's letter emphasises the "ostentation and show" involved in the life of a Cardinal and his retinue,[62] and it seems credible that Crashaw would have found such a lifestyle offensive.

This detailed account of Crashaw's life, as far as it can be reconstructed, has been necessary in order to support a case that his relationship with Catholicism once he reached continental Europe was very far from the serene existence of a convert at last residing secure in the bosom of his adopted faith. Although Warren assumes that in the Catholic Church Crashaw would find the peace he sought,[63] he never achieved any real form of security in his day to day existence. He always remained an outcast, usually through no fault of his own. It is also possible that his conversion was undertaken for the pragmatic reason of his own survival. Despite Lloyd's assertions, Larsen has discovered that, unlike Walter Montagu, Crashaw was never ordained a priest, nor was he registered at the English College in the category of a Pilgrim, or as a one of those studying for the priesthood.[64] This also lends weight to the rather more pragmatic view of his conversion, since he was not

---

[62] Southwell, p. 615.

[63] Warren, Crashaw, p. 51.

[64] Larsen, "Some Light", p. 493.

attempting to commit himself to the priesthood, which might have been expected from the contemporary accounts of his saintliness.

It is clear that, while he never became a settled insider either in personal or devotional terms, he must have come into contact with the rituals and views of European Catholicism. However, it is far from certain that this must have caused a change in his poetic practice, since it is very possible that he came into contact with Catholic devotion in the years before his exile. Martin admits that the remaining manuscript evidence only allows us to make speculative conjectures about the chronology of Crashaw's writing, though a few of the earlier poems can be dated more precisely.[65] We may conjecture that poems added to the 1648 and 1652 editions were written after 1646, and thus are likely to have been written in exile. It is possible to assume some Catholic influence on these poems, but it is not, I shall argue, possible to assert that earlier writing was not so influenced, nor that such influence was only acquired after Crashaw's departure from England.

This availability of Catholic material in a Protestant state may seem surprising, but, despite the official religion Catholicism still existed widely and in some cases openly in England in the 1620s and 1630s. In theory, Catholics were still persecuted, with laws against recusancy, and an oath of allegiance to the Crown, which, as far as the Pope was concerned made re-unification with the Catholic Church impossible.[66] However, in practice the Catholics were treated relatively leniently. At Court an identifiable Catholic party existed, with the Queen

---

[65] Martin, pp. lxxxvii-xcii, and Helen C. White, The Metaphysical Poets (New York, 1956), pp. 227 and 230.

[66] John Bossy, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850 (London, 1975), pp. 33-42.

at its centre, and the King was thought to be sympathetic to re-unification with Rome. There were certainly continuous diplomatic efforts to achieve this during the 1630s.[67] There were several Catholic Chapels in London which were open to the public, notably those of the Spanish Ambassador, and the Queen's own chapel at Somerset House. These were, apparently, very well attended by the public, and even some of the Protestant clergy were said to attend them.[68] The twelve Capuchin Friars who served the Queen moved freely around London, and preached and held disputations in English.[69] The Countess of Denbeigh's mother publicly recanted Protestantism a year after the death of her husband, the Duke of Buckingham, and was confirmed in the Somerset House Chapel with the Queen as Godmother. In 1635 she married the Catholic Earl of Antrim.[70] This was far from unusual as there were a series of high-profile conversions of courtiers and Anglican Clergy like Edmund Price who had been the Dean of Lincoln and the King's Chaplain.[71]

Open Catholic activity was not confined to the Court. Catholic missionary priests, Benedictine, Franciscan and Jesuit flocked to England. These priests served the Catholic laity throughout the country. In London the number of lay Catholics is thought to have been particularly large. In 1636, a petition was sent to the Privy Council by the rector and Church Warden of St Martin in the Fields:

> Most humbly deploringe the Estate that they are in by the greate increase of those of the Romish Church in the said Parish, where they

---

[67] For details of this see Hibbard, chapters 3-4.

[68] Albion, pp. 196-7, and Hibbard, pp. 56-7.

[69] Hibbard, p. 56.

[70] Hibbard, p. 35.

[71] Albion, pp. 197 and 226.

> are so exceedingly multiplyed dayly that in that part of the parish called Blomesbury there are as many or more then Protestantes.[72]

Whether or not they are exaggerating the total number of Catholics, the petition is followed by twenty five names of known converts. During this period there were 35 Jesuits in London alone out of a total number of 178 priests recorded in 1636.[73] The presence of these priests was strictly illegal, and if caught they were liable to be executed. In practice, even when an entire novitiate was discovered in Clerkenwell in 1628, and seven priests taken prisoner, the case was dropped because of lack of evidence.[74] Gaolers could also be bribed to release prisoners, and in 1635 the Queen herself intervened to effect the release of a priest, an act which she repeated the next year, on behalf of the Jesuit Henry Morse who was thought to have been responsible for the conversions in Bloomsbury.[75]

The Jesuits seem to have been successful in making converts. John Gee writing in 1624 alleges that: "they have not only surprized our Suburbs, but almost taken our Capitol".[76] Gee makes it clear that he was almost converted himself, and is therefore writing to warn other Protestants of the determination of the Jesuits to subvert them:

> But trust you not such undermining *Iesuites*: beleeve you not any of those *oyly-mouthed Absolons*, though they speak plausible things, to steale away your hearts from *Gods Truth*, and the Kings *Obedience*.[77]

---

[72] CSPD, Charles I, (1635-7), 349, Item 116, p. 499.

[73] Francis Edwards SJ, The Jesuits in England (London, 1985), p. 62.

[74] Edwards, pp. 57-8.

[75] Edwards, p. 67.

[76] John Gee, The Foot of the Snare (London 1624), p. 3.

[77] Gee, p. 9.

Despite Gee's warnings, by 1636 they claimed a total of 49 conversions in the country as a whole, a figure which had risen to 510 by 1640.[78]

Missionary activity was not confined to London, however. In 1623 the English Province had been divided into regional Colleges, and the College of the Holy Apostles was founded in 1633 to minister to Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire. There are records of visits having been made to Cambridge itself, and thus it would have been possible for Crashaw to have come into contact with Catholic teaching while still in Cambridge.[79] We know that he was aware of Jesuit ideas by 1634, as he makes a reference to them, as "magistri Asygniani" in the prose section of "Lectori" in the Epigrammata Sacra.[80] The fact that the reference is made in the oblique form of an anagram indicates that he must have felt the need for some discretion about such contact with Catholic priests, but still felt it was safe to make at least a coded reference to them.

Less is known about the activities of the Franciscans, but they were clearly present in London, and a chapter meeting was held there from 1632, and regularly from 1637 onwards.[81] When new districts were drawn up in 1647 one was centred in Cambridge. This was admittedly too late for Crashaw, but may indicate that Cambridge had previously become an important centre for the Franciscans.

---

[78] Edwards, p. 62.

[79] Henry Foley SJ, ed. Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, (London, 1875), II, p. 393.

[80] "Lectori" (prose section) ll. 24-30. See George Walton Williams' commentary on this in The Complete Poetry of Richard Crashaw, p. 648.

[81] Thaddeus, p. 160.

The most important contribution made by the Franciscans was their dissemination of Catholic books, which were usually published in Douai and smuggled into England.[82] In an appendix to The Foot of the Snare, Gee lists a total of 118 Catholic books which have been produced in 1623-4. These include several meditational texts, including five books of instruction on meditation on The Virgin Mary. Unfortunately he does not specify their authors. He does however, mention specifically "Bellarmine's Steps", and "Granadoe's Meditations", by which he must mean Robert Bellarmine's, A Most Learned and Pious Treatise whereby our Mindes may Ascende to God, and Luis De Granada's, Of Prayer and Meditation. Both books were printed in Douai, and so, although Gee attributes the origins of these books to the Jesuits, they were almost certainly of Franciscan origin. He also lists An Introduction to a Devout Life, which he attributes to I. Yorke. We know that a translation of De Sales' work was produced in 1614 by John Yakesly, and it is probable that Gee has mistaken the translator's name. Gee makes clear how prevalent the Jesuit booksellers were, and even allowing for exaggeration, it cannot have been difficult to acquire Catholic books as a result:

> Witnesse the swarmes of their bookes, which you may heare humming up and downe in every corner of the City and Countrey. ... I verily beleeve, they have vented more of their pamphlets within this twelve-month, then they did in forty yeeres before. They have *Printing-presses* and *Book-sellers* almost in every corner.[83]

We do not know whether Crashaw's acquaintance with the Jesuits was as a result of such book selling, but we can be sure that he possessed one book on Gee's list, De Sales' Introduction to a Devout Life, which was thought to be subversive enough to

---

[82] Grant, pp. 117-18.

[83] Gee, p. 21.

be seized in 1637.[84] Joseph Beaumont also praised St Teresa's work in an oration made in 1638, and so it is very likely that Crashaw had read the Vida at this time.[85] Certainly the title for the "Apologie" for the "Hymn to Saint Teresa" in Carmen deo Nostro, says that the poem was: "writt while the author was yet among the protestantes". It is likely that he would have known and read other books by Catholic authors, and the opportunity for contact with Catholic teaching and ideas was obviously open to him many years before he fled to Europe. Indeed, in her letter of introduction, Henrietta Maria states that:

> Le Sieur Crashau ayant esté Ministre en Angleterre et nourri dans les Universitez de ce païs parmy des gens tres esloignez des sentiments de nostre Sainte Religion, s'est toutes fois par la Lecture et son estude [sic] rendu Catholique; et pour en jouïr plus paisiblement l'exercice, s'est transporté en deça.[86]

She seems to imply that despite having been surrounded by those opposed to the Catholic faith at Cambridge, Crashaw had already become at least familiar with its teachings. This stress placed upon his learning and study while at university becomes more important when this letter is compared to the one which the Queen sent three days earlier on behalf of Thomas Vane, the former Royal Chaplain, whose treatment Digby was later to complain of.[87] The two letters are different, which indicates that Crashaw's was not merely a form letter. Most importantly, concerning Vane's conversion, Henrietta Maria simply says; "Le Sieur Van[c]e,

---

[84] Hilton Kelliher, "Crashaw at Cambridge," in Roberts, New Perspectives, pp. 180-214, (pp. 184-5).

[85] Charles Beaumont, "A Collection of My Father's Latin Speeches," cited in Austin Warren, "Crashaw and St. Teresa", Times Literary Supplement, August 25th, 1932, p. 593.

[86] CSPD, Charles I, (1645-7), 514, Item 56, p. 467

[87] See discussion of this above.

formerly Chaplain of the King my Lord, being converted to the Catholic faith, has transported himself into France in order to avoid the violence which those who hold the profession are treated in England."[88] When compared with what she wrote about Crashaw, it appears that the stress on Crashaw's previous study of the faith was intentional, and was probably as a result of a genuine knowledge of his circumstances.

It does seem that it would have been relatively easy for Crashaw to have encountered Catholic teaching while he was still in Cambridge. Given the difficulty of establishing a definitive chronology for the poems it is impossible to argue that a new acquaintance with European Catholicism could have been responsible for a change in poetic sensibility if he had been aware of such ideas before he left Cambridge.

The text of Carmen Deo Nostro may appear to be more Catholic than that of Steps to the Temple because of the addition of emblematic engravings to several poems. This may be explicable in terms of the fact that it was produced by a Catholic editor in a Catholic country. Yet even these engravings cannot be used to prove a new acquaintance with Catholic epigrammatic writers. Praz argues that those preceding "The Weeper", "Hymn to the Name" and "A Letter to the Countess of Denbeigh" are influenced by emblems to be found in Jesuit texts.[89] Yet Rosemary Freeman has demonstrated that such texts were widely available in pre-Civil War England. Quarles' popular Emblemes, published in 1635, was especially influenced

---

[88] CSPD, Charles I, (1645-7), 514, Item 55, p. 466.

[89] Mario Praz, Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery, 2nd edn. (Rome, 1964), p. 227.

by Hermanus Hugo's Pia Desideria, and the anonymous Typus Mundi, both of which Praz cites as influences on Carmen Deo Nostro.[90]

The reason for the appearance of Catholic hymns in this and the 1648 volume may be purely because it would not have been safe to have had them published in England in 1646. Parliamentary hostility to Catholics in England had grown from 1640 onwards, and during the civil war and interregnum it was highly dangerous to exhibit Catholic sympathies.[91] In 1646 the political situation was still doubtful, and Crashaw was associated with the exiled court. Cowley's apology for his friend's conversion shows that it was felt to be ill-advised even amongst the Royalists. While it still seemed possible, however remotely, that the King might win and the exiles return, the editor of the 1646 Steps to the Temple may have felt it to be advisable to conceal the extent of Crashaw's commitment to Catholicism. This might have enabled him to return from exile uncompromised, it would also have avoided the association being made between the exiled court and an openly Catholic poet. Thus it is possible that "The office of the Holy Crosse" and poems based on Catholic hymns may even have been written much earlier than 1648, but their publication would have proved too hazardous until the author was safely in Rome. These ideas are purely speculative, but do show that it is not possible to assume a simple correlation between Crashaw's exile and a sudden change in the artistic and devotional direction of his poetry.

It is clear, therefore, that many of the assumptions made about the latter period of Crashaw's life and writing are at least questionable. Firstly we cannot

---

[90] Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (London, 1948), pp. 117-8.

[91] Albion, pp. 335-344.

assume that the alterations made to the poems which had previously appeared in the 1646 edition of Steps to the Temple were authorial. They may have been made by Thomas Carre, and thus we cannot be sure they are revisions which Crashaw intended as improvements on the previous versions. It is possible that the poems which appear for the first time in the 1648 edition were written after his conversion. However, it is equally impossible to be certain. It is also very likely that Crashaw had encountered Catholic texts and teaching well before his exile.

If the poems in hymn form were written after his conversion then they might be expected to exhibit a change in poetic sensibility. In the hymns, Crashaw does change to a first-person poetic voice. However it is difficult to assert that this was because of his changed personal circumstances, and new security within the Catholic Church. It seems that he was no more secure, and probably less so, than he had been in Cambridge. Once in Europe, he seems always to have lived the precarious existence of an outsider, never accepted at court and always short of money. Even when he reached Rome, he was not accepted into the Church establishment. It was only in the last months of his life that he gained a role within the Catholic Church. But even then it was not in Rome, but at the less important Loretto, and even here he may not have been contented. If, therefore, we assume that his life affected his poetry, it is difficult to see why his later poems should exhibit a persona that is any more confident and secure than that of his earlier work.

## Chapter Nine: "The Wounded is the Wounding Heart"

In the light of my analysis of the circumstances of the last part of Crashaw's life, this final chapter will discuss the hymns themselves. In the 1646 edition of Steps to the Temple, Crashaw had written third-person descriptions of others' worship in the "Nativity Hymn" and "Hymn to St. Teresa". He has previously dealt with others' love as his models for a loving relationship with God, but in the later editions of his poetry hymns written in the first-person appear for the first time. It is in the later hymns that we read a first-person investigation of divine love.

These first-person hymns, "Hymn to the Name", "Vexilla Regis", "Charitas Nimia", "Adoro Te", "Lauda Sion", "O Gloriosa Domina" and "Dies Irae", appeared in the 1648 edition of Steps to the Temple, and, with sightly different titles and the addition of emblematic pictures, in Carmen Deo Nostro. Both of these volumes were published after Crashaw's departure from Cambridge, and conversion to Catholicism. We cannot be sure when these poems were written, but is is possible to examine the hymns to see if they may betray any signs of a changed poetic sensibility as a result of their writer's conversion.

Hymns written in the third-person still appear in the later editions, however, which also implies a continuity of poetic thought. This continuity is provided by Crashaw's constant attempt to explore and define the nature of humanity's relationship with God. The chapter will begin with a discussion of two third-person hymns, the "Hymn to St. Teresa", and the "Epiphany Hymn". One of these, the "Hymn to St. Teresa", was published in the 1646 edition, and the other only appeared for the first time in the 1648 edition of Steps to the Temple. However, in both poems Crashaw is striving to define both what divine love may be, and also

how humanity can share in the experience of it. It is also important to compare two third-person hymns to determine whether his sensibility and methods of writing can be seen to have changed in the later hymn.

I shall then discuss hymns written in the first-person, to investigate if this new poetic strategy was indicative of a changed approach to God and divine love. Many of these were written about the crucifixion, and Crashaw's contemplation of Christ's suffering leads him to wonder how it is possible for human love to match that shown by such a sacrifice.

Section one: Hymns written in the Third-person

In his quest to "know thee well", Crashaw had first to come to some sort of definition of what religious love might be. It is clear that his discourse of love had developed from Latin eroticism, but had his conception of love? This attempt at definition can be seen in two of the third-person Hymns, the "Epiphany Hymn" and the "Hymn to St Teresa".

Although these hymns appeared in different editions of Steps to the Temple, both concern the experience of conversion to the service of God. In the "Epiphany Hymn", the Magi have previously worshipped a pagan god, and Teresa experiences a relationship with divine love for the first time. We know that the "Hymn to St. Teresa" was written while Crashaw was still a Protestant, and although the "Epiphany Hymn" appeared for the first time in the 1648 edition it is very similar in form to the "Nativity Hymn", which first appeared in 1646. Both hymns are spoken in several voices, with choric sections, and are set out with speeches alloted to each character, as if for musical or dramatic performance. Even if we assume that one poem was written before, and the other after his experience of conversion, they are strikingly similar in poetic focus. Crashaw still writes about the experience of conversion from a distant perspective: even in the "Epiphany Hymn", we gain little impression of someone who has become a convert himself.

In the "Epiphany Hymn" Crashaw dramatised the conversion of pagan Kings to Christian love, thereby examining how sacred love might be related to its profane forebear. The Kings make clear that they have discovered a new form of worship and that the role of love is vital within it. They have come "For love of thee" and admire the way that the child loves the world in his care with much the same simple

and almost whimsical language as the shepherds admired Mary's care of her son in the "Nativity Hymn":

> O little all! in thy embrace
> The world lyes warm, & likes his place.
> Nor does his full Globe fail to be
> Kist on both his cheekes by Thee.
> (ll 36-9)

Initially then, love for God is the uncomplicated affection adoring adults have for an engaging baby. Yet this child is a powerful "King of loves"[1] and, despite a chubby physiognomy, it is not a baby, but the world that love enfolds. The huge power the child wields is directly related to his amiability:

> The doating nations now no more
> Shall any day but THINE adore.
> (ll 86-7)

The verb "to adore" connects love and worship, as the nations are seen as helpless with infatuation. The child is a "softer yet more certaine" avatar of Cupid,[2] who is gentler than his pagan forbear and attracts worshippers to him by his own attractiveness.

The Kings revere Christ: "Welcome, the world's sure Way!/ HEAVN'S wholsom ray."[3] They use the same imagery of Christ as light of the world which is evident throughout the "Nativity Hymn".[4] By his use of such imagery, Crashaw seems to emphasise the continuity between the old and new kinds of worship as the

---

[1] l. 7.

[2] l. 78.

[3] ll. 60-61.

[4] For discussion of the sun's replacement as an object of worship, see Diana Benet, "The Redemption of the Sun: Crashaw's Christmastide Poems," in Cooper, Essays on Richard Crashaw, pp. 129-145.

Kings who have been sun-worshippers recognise a new deity, who is also described as a light. As in "Lectori" Christ emerges as a better version of the old deity, but still retains the imagery of the god he surpasses.

In contrast to the love offered by the child, the behaviour of pagan religions are portrayed as being dominated by sexual violence:

> Those beauteous ravishers opprest so sore,
> The too-hard tempted nations.
>
> (ll 92-3)

The old gods inspire not free adoration, but oppress their devotees with "perverse loves & Religious Rapes".[5] The pagan past from which "discourse centred in Heaven" has developed in the epigrams is now described as full of "immodest lust". The new Christian form of love is now defined not as a development from such downright carnality, but, like sun-worship, as a polar opposition to it. The former types of worship are now idolatrous.

Yet Crashaw still stresses continuity between one past love, though idolatrous, and its Christian replacement, again by using the image of sun-worship. The sun is "shamefac'd" at all the adoration it has inspired. It rejects the kisses of its old worshippers, and yields them to the new deity.[6] Its own penitence at having been the cause of such mistaken idolatry is then described as its return of such kisses, and a kind of ecstatic swoon similar to those which Crashaw describes in "On a Prayer Book sent to Mrs M.R":

> And the Great Penitent presse his own pale lipps
> With an elaborate love-eclipse
>
> (ll 152-3)

---

[5] l. 106.

[6] l. 125.

Crashaw again uses an analogy based on human love. The sun has found a new lover, while the unenlightened world is described as "love-sick". The "happy converts" learn:

> To kisse him only as their rod
> Whom they so long courted as GOD,
> And their best use of him they worship't be
> To learn of Him at lest, to worship Thee.
> (ll 180-3)

The poem is full of lovers. The Kings love Christ for loving the world. The mortals had loved the sun amongst other gods, but now condemn them for having too many loves. Finally the Kings return to their own revelation of true worship. Their aspirations are described with a bizarre erotic image:

> At lest to play
> The amourous Spyes
> And peep & proffer at thy sparkling Throne;
> (ll 224-6)

This produces the type of erotic voyeurism that Catullus condemns in "vivamus mea Lesbia", a poem which was well known during the Renaissance.[7] This reference to the classical past of erotic love again emphasises the genealogy of love. Love for God, like the language Crashaw uses to describe it, at once develops from and surpasses its erotic model. Conversion, for the kings is a paradoxical mixture of pain and delight.

Despite the fact that the "Epiphany Hymn" did not appear until 1648, it is evident that the poem shares many features with those published much earlier, both

---

[7] Crashaw translates the same poem as "Out of Catullus". Ben Jonson included it in the scene of Celia's attempted seduction in Volpone Act 3, Scene 7, ll. 165-182. See also James A.S. McPeek, Catullus in Strange and Distant Britain (Cambridge Mass., 1939). pp. 113-117.

in the epigrams and Steps to the Temple. Although the Kings are converted to a new type of love it develops from the pagan love which they seek to repudiate.

The "Hymn to St Teresa" begins not with the woman, but an address to Love itself, this again provides a link between profane and sacred love, as Crashaw follow Ovid's methodology of mentioning love before the supposed object of the poem.[8] "Love thou art absolute, sole Lord/ of life and death", the poet asserts. Yet we are to hear far more of death than life throughout the poem. We quickly gain the impression of a personified love who is an autocratic ruler, a great and powerful lord, (the word is used three times in the space of the first 11 lines), who could if he wished command armies of brave men:

> Those thy old souldiers, stout and tall
> Ripe and full growne, that could reach downe,
> With strong armes their triumphant crowne:
> Such as could with lusty breath,
> Speak lowd unto the face of death
> Their great Lords glorious name.
> (ll. 4-10)

Yet the narrative shows that Teresa is strong even through her weakness. She is able to show that passion is, as Christ showed, an active suffering. The Latin origin of "passion" is the verb "patior", which is active in sense but passive in form, and thus contains within itself the paradoxical nature of suffering.

Lorraine Roberts and Walter Davis suggest that Crashaw, like baroque painters, strives to engage the reader as closely as possible in the drama being portrayed.[9] This certainly seems to be the case in lines 19-22, where we are initially

---

[8] See chapter one for discussion.

[9] Lorraine M. Roberts, "Crashaw's Sacred Voice," in Roberts, New Perspectives, pp. 66-79, (p. 71), Davis, "Meditative Hymnody", (p. 108.)

puzzled as the Saint about the rationale of the war-lord love:

> Shee never undertooke to know,
> What death with love should have to doe
> Nor hath shee ere yet understood
> Why to show love she should shed blood

Love is here presented as an abstract quality rather than a personification, linked to sacrifice by the ideas of martyrdom and emulation of Christ's suffering. Prudentius' stress on the youth and precocious holiness of the martyr Eulalia may have influenced Crashaw's portrayal of Teresa, since he describes this prospective female martyr in the same tradition.[10]

As the hymn continues religious love, though eroticised, is constantly expressed with images of violence. Love returns as the powerful army commander,[11] and has already been imagined as not only soldier, but murderous executioner, as in lines 75-9 she becomes "Loves victim". It is as if, by this stage, Teresa's martyrdom is not voluntary, but a penalty exacted by an aggressive love.

In the description of the dream St. Teresa does say that the pain of the arrow made her suspect she might die, but Crashaw's mixture of the vocabulary of death and arrows and profound sensuality is still shocking:

> How kindly will thy gentle heart,
> Kisse the sweetly-killing dart:
> And close in his embraces keep,
> Those delicious wounds that weep
> (ll 105-8)

This is reminiscent of the devastating mythological effect of Cupid's arrows, which Crashaw has specifically equated with the effect of Christ's love. He uses "thy

---

[10] See Prudentius, Peristephanon, Hymn III, ll. 11-25.

[11] ll. 95-6.

spowses radiant name" and "a sweet and subtile paine",[12] to create an analogy between Teresa's experience of heavenly penetration, and an earthly loss of virginity.

Teresa is seen as loving death almost for itself, rather than for its result: "of a death in which who dyes/Loves his death, and dyes againe".[13] The repetition of images of death in such a paradoxical context is also extremely reminiscent of Crashaw's epigrammatic technique of stressing the central concept of the poem by repeating it. When love appears it is as a cruelly powerful deity, the effect of which is divorced from any pleasure caused as a result. Death and pain become the much re-iterated centre of the poem, rather than love.

Both of these hymns contain elements of suffering in their evocation of love, but violence is seen to be a painful means to a beneficial end. In the "Epiphany Hymn" the converts are oppressed by the sexual violence of pagan deities, but as a result of their escape from them, enjoy the love of the Christian God. Even the sun, previously an object of worship, falls joyously in love with God, who is personified as a powerful, but essentially amiable deity.

The "Hymn to St Teresa" presents a more menacing aspect of personified love, who is a powerful warlord. It even appears that she is being coerced into martyrdom by the mighty love, whose victim she becomes. Yet it is also made clear that the pain she suffers is miraculously pleasant, and that through it she achieves the ecstacy of a relationship of love with God. We are also left in no doubt that the

---

[12] ll. 82 and 98.

[13] ll. 100-101.

poet would like to share in such a love, however much pain it causes.

Section two: Hymns written in the First-person

The "Hymn to the Name", appeared for the first time in the 1648 edition, and is, like many of the later hymns, written in the first-person. The poem opens with an apparent refusal to define who or what love, or even God is. It is only in the full title, "To the Name Above Every Name, The Name of Jesus, a Hymn", that Crashaw even specifies whose name is being celebrated:

> I sing the NAME which None can say
> But touch't with An interiour RAY:
> The Name of our New PEACE; our Good:
> Our Blisse: & Supernatural Blood:
> The Name of All our Lives & Loves.
> (ll 1-5)

The poem opens almost with a denial that any celebration is possible, until it is qualified by the addition of the inspirational "interior ray". In "Lectori", Crashaw portrayed himself refusing to be the "vates" chosen by Cupid. Here he is divinely inspired. His muse is, in this case, a Christian love.

In the universe of the poem love is omnipresent. Yet its images seem to confuse rather than clarify the nature of the love they describe. The very problem in this poem, as Cunnar notes, is love's ineffability.[14] The personification of Love enters the poem, as a hereditary power, who has "heirs elect".[15] The name is defined by abstract concepts like "peace", "good" and "blisse", but the movement of the clauses and rhythm leads to a sense that all these are summed up and exemplified by "all our lives and loves". The internal half rhyme indicates that love exists in life, but is not, perhaps, identical with it. The day has "love-crowned

---

[14] Eugene R. Cunnar, "Crashaw's Hymn 'To the Name Above Every Name': Background and Meaning," in Cooper, Essays pp. 102-129, (p. 110).

[15] See discussion of legal and regal imagery in "Lauda Sion" below, p. 254

doors".[16] The musical instruments are ordered to: "Mix All your many WORLDS, Above/And loose them into ONE of Love."[17] Yet it is far from clear who or what such love may be.

Just as the worshippers were described as "courting" and "wooing" the sun,[18] so when the poet addresses the name directly for the first time at line 115, his language is that of a courtier, in both senses. The tone is respectful, as of a royal power, the "Fair king of Names", but he is also an amorous courtier of the "lovely name":

> And give thy Self a while The gracious Guest
> Of humble Soules, that seek to find
> The hidden Sweets
> Which man's heart meets
> When Thou art Master of the Mind.
> (ll. 120-4)

Although this is described as an intellectual passion, it is a passion nonetheless, with vocabulary resembling that used to tempt women to the love of God.[19]

Although pagan sun-worship was rejected in the "Epiphany Hymn", the name is envisaged almost as a fertility god, whose "Golden showers" impregnate the "Laboring earth". However the image is further complicated when the earth "Leapes at thy birth". The earth has, it seems, been impregnated by a child only just born. The god referred to is now a specifically Christian one, as reference is made

---

[16] l. 42.

[17] ll. 86-7.

[18] "Epiphany Hymn", ll. 181 and 184.

[19] See "On a Prayer Book", "To the Countess of Denbeigh" and "On Mr Herbert's Book".

to the biblical visit of Mary to the pregnant Elizabeth.[20] In a procedure which is familiar from the epigrams, Crashaw again develops a Christian type of love from a pagan image.

The image is still not stable, as when the Name does arrive it is not impregnating male but pregnant, and thus by implication, female:

> ... And brings a bosom big with Loves.
> WELCOME to our dark world, Thou
> Womb of Day!
> Unfold thy fair Conceptions; and display
> The Birth of our Bright Joyes.
> (ll 160-4)

This is the creative persona of love in another form. In this image the "loves" of the opening of the poem seem to be all that is born from the generative power of the Name. If the "Womb of day" is the site of all creation, then "loves" are syntactically identical with the "day" as the respective objects of the two clauses. Thus they must connote all that the creative power brings forth.

The concept of love fluctuates wildly, but for most of the poem it is a wholly attractive one. The kings had felt compelled to worship such an amiable deity, and now the poet strives to do so in his own right. But as they had adored from a distance, so this is still a delighted, yet detached celebration of love. The process of defining love and praising it for its many attributes seems to preclude any attempt to forge a close relationship with it. Rather like the poems which celebrate Mary's official attributes, there is a certain reserve even in its joy. The poet's music is designed to attract "The Name of Your Delights and Our Desires".[21]

---

[20] Luke 1:41.

[21] l. 101.

Yet the constant exaltation of the tone, while providing an opportunity for the poet to celebrate the Name, seems to preclude any investigation of love from a more intimate perspective.

Crashaw attempts to "Sing the name that none can say", only to find that he is unable to sustain the song without help. He calls human and divine agencies to his help, until the repeated imperatives begin to sound desperate:

> Help me to meditate mine Immortall Song.
> Come, ye soft ministers of sad sweet mirth,
> Bring All your household stuffe of Heavn on earth;
> (ll. 61-3)

He tries to reassure himself of his part in this community of praise:

> Chear thee my HEART!
> For Thou too hast thy Part
> And Place in the Great Throng
> Of this Unbounded All-imbracing SONG.
> [ll. 88-91].

Yet this is a strange part for a poet. He has not so much the role of individual worshipper seeking the interior ray, and attempting a relationship with the beloved deity, as an organiser of a kind of poetic concert. When love is summoned it is not to comfort an individual soul, but to come onto a crowded stage, surrounded by its own entourage:

> ... Among
> The Conduct of Adoring SPIRITS, that throng
> Like diligent bees, And swarm about it.
> (ll 151-3)

The poet may have tried to define love, but has still not found a way of imagining how a human might enter into a relationship of love with the divine.

The only way in which "To the Name" can envisage such a relationship with

God is through the pain and wounding of martyrdom. But again such a state is seen as an ideal from the distant past. Crashaw's envy of the martyrs derives from their having achieved a dialogue of mutual love with the divine. While they suffer, there are, nevertheless "Thy old Friends of Fire, all full of Thee".[22] Such a state of being replete with divine love has not been achieved through the former images of music, creative love or adoration, but by the pain of wounds. Like the infant Teresa, and Psyche, the poet is ambitious to show his adoration of the name through martyrdom. He describes the wounds of the martyrs as directly related to their love:

> What did Their weapons, but with wider pores
> Inlarge thy flaming-brested Lovers
> ...
> What did their Weapons but sett wide the Doores
> For Thee: Fair, purple Doores, of love's divising;
> (ll 211-12 and 216-17)

The martyrs are lovers, who show this by worshipping through wounds, as all the Prudentian martyrs do without exception. The images of the "fair purple doores" and "Ruby windowes" are reminiscent of the far more gentle images of love evoked earlier in the poem. Yet they derive their colour from blood, and despite the beauty of the images, are mortal wounds.

This image is similar to one which Crashaw uses in the epigram "In vulnerum vestigia" to describe the wounded Christ. Thus the Martyrs are perceived as imitating his suffering not only in their actions, but also in the image used to describe them. In the epigram "In vulnerum vestigia quae ostendit Dominus, ad firmandam suorum fidem" (on the marks of the wounds which the Lord shows to strengthen the faith of his followers), Christ's love is demonstrated by his wounds:

---

[22] L. 198.

His oculis nos cernit amor tuus: his & amorem
(Christe) tuum gaudet cernere nostra fides.

(ll 3-4)

With these eyes your love discerns us, and with them
Our faith rejoices to discern your love, Christ.

It is only because of the title that the reader knows that the "eyes" which are referred to are figurative rather than literal. Not only have wounds have become a means of Christ's showing love, they have also become a conduit for the passage of love. This image is very similar to the one which Prudentius uses in Peristephanon, Hymn X, where Romanus gives thanks to God that his wounds may be mouths to express, and praise Christ's love.[23]

If the only way that love may be expressed is through wounds, then the very violent ending to a poem that has been full of gentle and celebratory images seems less incongruous than one might imagine. Yet the wrench of the tone and subject matter in the last section, which begins at line 197, is still shocking. The thought of the poem moves into a much darker area than that promised by the confident acclamation:

Wellcome dear, All-Adored Name!
For sure there is no Knee
That knowes not THEE

(ll 225-7)

Such references to genuflection suggest that the poem was written before Crashaw left Cambridge, as bowing to the altar was an important part of Laudian ritual, and a highly contentious issue in the religious debates of the 1630s and 40s.[24] It is possible that it was written once he had converted to celebrate a Church in which he

---

[23] Prudentius, Peristephanon, Hymn X, ll. 562-70. For discussion, see chapter two.

[24] See chapter 6.

was free to show reverence to the altar. However, its focus on a ritual observance which had caused such controversy in his time in England creates the impression that the poem looks back with nostalgia to the place he had left, rather than looking forward in hope to a new communion.

Parliament's dislike of ritual in worship was enforced through the coercion and violence of the Civil War. The poem itself ends with a vision of a forced conversion of any that will not worship. If they will not give love freely through self inflicted pain, then the power of divine love will compel them to this:

> They that by Love's mild Dictate now
> Will not adore thee,
> Shall Then with Iust Confusion, bow
> And break before thee.
> (ll 236-9)

Love is now the terrifying Lord of the apocalypse. Only demanding and autocratic powers deliver "dictates", even if they are mild. Instead of ending on the celebration of all creation as worshippers of the "All-Adored Name", a punitive and disturbing love is envisaged as compelling obedience. This is not the gentle and rapturous conversion to love of the "Epiphany Hymn". This compulsive power may be just, but is a new and shocking form of love. Such a despotically cruel power is without parallel in More, Benlowes or Beaumont. In Psyche the spouse may be a King, but his beneficence is constantly stressed, and while Psyche suffers martyrdom she does so because of her own ardent desire, and not compulsion. Even in a supposedly joyous hymn of love for God it becomes apparent how awful, in the full sense of the word, such an encounter with divine love might be. It is as if such awe of the divine becomes disabling for someone who is trying to worship.

We gain the impression that the poet is excluded from the God he would like

to worship. Love is no longer the attractive, welcoming child of the "Epiphany Hymn", and the martyrdom demanded is not that of ecstatic love, as in the "Hymn to St. Teresa". If this poem was written after Crashaw converted to Catholicism, it is redolent of the exile and exclusion he experienced in life. There is no sense in which the poet portrays himself as accepted within new rituals, rather he is excluded from them, and repelled by the pain such love requires.

A constant portrayal of divine love as coercive power, monarch and general underlies the poems. And it becomes clear that it is difficult for Crashaw, as individual worshipper, to contemplate this invasive presence. It could be argued that the language of military might, when encountered in 1648, may be a response to the violence of the Civil War, which had caused Crashaw to go into exile. Benlowes also uses such language in Theophila:

> Arm! Arm! She breaks in with strong ZEAL; The place
> *Sin* quits, now garrison'd by GRACE;
> Illustrious *Triumphs* do the Steps of Victors trace
>
> When the loud Volleyes of her Pray'rs begin
> To make a Breach, they soon take in
> The Parapets, Redouts, and Conterscarps of Sin.
> (canto 2, St 94-5)

Since Theophila was written in 1652, the details of siege warfare may reflect the greater awareness even non-combatants had of fighting during the Civil War. But, the continuity with which the images of love and violence are used in Crashaw's writing makes such an identification almost impossible. His language of war and violence is likely to have predated the actual war, especially since images of pain and wounding can be found in the Epigrammata Sacra, published eight years before the outbreak of the war. When such language occurs in the poems published in later editions, it is merely a continuation of an earlier preoccupation.

Section Three: Crucifixion Hymns

It is not surprising that, as a devout man and religious poet, Crashaw's preoccupation with the connection of pain and love should have lead him to write about the crucifixion. Like Beaumont and meditational writers such as Puente and De Sales, Crashaw viewed Christ's suffering as the ultimate proof of God's love for humanity. "Charitas Nimia" begins with a succession of questions, which interrogate the meaning and results of God's love for man:

> Lord, what is man? why should he coste thee
> So dear? What had his ruin lost thee?
> Lord what is man? that thou hast overbought
> So much a thing of nought?
> (ll. 1-4)

The whole poem is obsessed with the question not only of why God should endure pain, but why a gesture of love of such magnitude should be made towards man, a miserable and undeserving creature. Such incredulity in response to Christ's suffering is immediately reminiscent of St. Bernard's Meditations, which must have been a direct influence on this poem.[25] It seems that the only reason for love must be stupidity or blindness, as the concept of being "dear" takes on both monetary and amatory significance. This solution to the problem proves unsatisfying, however, and the questions about why love should be interested in "such low wormes as we" remain unanswered.

The speaker's incredulity is increased by the realisation that "Still thrones & Dominations would adore thee".[26] Man is not necessary to provide adoration with

---

[25] Bernard p. 219, see discussion in chapter seven.

[26] l. 24.

love or worship.[27] The problem of why God loved humanity is not solved by any of the succeeding questions. Nor is the problem of why he should endure such suffering on its behalf.

All his questions must remain unanswered, and we gain a sense that the poet has no confidence that they will be. Yet despite this, the final lines indicate a determination to show love himself:

> That lost again my LIFE may prove
> As then in DEATH, so now in love.
> (ll 65-6)

The enormous sacrifice of the crucifixion seems too difficult and overwhelming for any human answer. Yet there is a kind of bleak mutuality in Crashaw's love in "Charitas Nimia", as love causes pain to both Christ and poet. Christ has suffered physical pain because of his love for humanity, and Crashaw suffers the mental pain of separation from the God he loves.

Section IV Hymns of the Church

"Vexilla Regis" is, like "Caritas Nimia" an investigation of divine love, but is very specific as to its focus on the sacrifice of the cross. As far as we know, "Charitas Nimia" was Crashaw's own creation, and is, as such, a particularly personal investigation of the relationship between love and suffering. However, "Vexilla Regis" is a translation of one of the ancient Latin Hymns of the Church. It is possible that Crashaw discovered these hymns after his conversion to Catholicism. He would have found all but "Stabat Mater", which was added in the

---

[27] Here Crashaw and George Rust are in agreement. See Rust, Remains p. 11 and discussion in chapter four.

eighteenth century, in the Breviary issued by the Council of Trent in 1568.[28] However, Larsen states that since Crashaw was never ordained a Catholic priest, he would not have been compelled to study the Roman Breviary. This is, therefore, not necessarily the source for his adaptation of the Hymns of the Church, and he argues that Rome may not have been the first place that Crashaw encountered these hymns.[29] Indeed, Healy notes that Godfrey Goodman, the Laudian Bishop of Gloucester, was reputed to recite the Roman Breviary.[30] Thus it must have been available in England for Crashaw to have read. It is likely that he had come across Catholic hymns in his father's library. William Crashaw translated Catholic hymns and devotional texts, while turning them to a Protestant purpose in A Manuall for True Catholickes.[31] In 1611 he also wrote to his friend and patron, the Earl of Salisbury, the Lord High Treasurer, to ask if he may have the "Popish Books" that have recently been seized.[32] Crashaw's adaptations of the Hymns may have been written in time for the 1646 edition, but rejected because of their association with Catholicism.

The Latin Hymns of the Church were written between the fifth and fourteenth centuries, and were originally composed as part of monastic daily

---

[28] C.S. Phillips, Hymnody Past and Present (London and New York, 1937), p. 93.

[29] Larsen, "Some Light," p. 496.

[30] Healy, p. 4, see also Geoffrey Ingle Soden, Godfrey Goodman Bishop of Gloucester (London, 1953), p. 247.

[31] William Crashaw, A Manuall for True Catholickes (London, 1611). See also Edward I. Watkin, "William Crashaw's Influence on his Son," The Dublin Review, 223 (1949), 1-25.

[32] CSPD, James I, (1611-1618), Vol. LXI, no. 111, p. 12.

offices. St Ambrose is widely considered to have been the originator of the hymn, and later writers followed his example in style as well as spirit. Crashaw's versions are not translations, since, while they follow the original text, his poems can differ widely from it. Although his use of another text as mediation for his own love may seem a familiar strategy, it is less easily comprehensible when we consider the nature of the original "Ambrosian" hymns, here described by C.S. Phillips:

> [Theirs] is a spirit grave, severe, and giving little scope for the poetic imagination to soar. ... They represent the reaction of ascetic Christianity from the license and frivolity of Paganism. ... Their analogues in the world of art are the stern and massive outlines of Romanesque architecture and the stiff, grim, almost intimidating mosaics that stare at the beholder from the apses and friezes of the churches of Ravenna.[33]

It seems strange that a poet who has been so much associated with the opulence and sensuality of baroque art, rather than the sternness of the Romanesque, should be attracted by such ascetic poems. Indeed, Crashaw's use of overtly erotic language could be perceived as too close an association with "the license and frivolity of paganism". Yet Laudian ritual had stressed the importance of the liturgy and the use of music. His use of ancient hymns also emphasises once again a very Laudian tendency to turn for inspiration to the rituals of the primitive church. It may be, therefore, that these adaptations have more in common with the Laudian College he had left, rather than the Catholic Church he had joined.

Sister Margaret Claydon, whose study of Crashaw's treatment of the hymns considers each adaptation in detail, concludes that each of Crashaw's poems is far more personal and dramatic that the parent text.[34] Each of Crashaw's poems

---

[33] C. S. Phillips, p. 55.

[34] Sister Margaret Claydon, Richard Crashaw's Paraphrases of the Vexilla Regis, Stabat Mater, Adoro Te, Lauda Sion Salvatorem, Dies Irae and O Gloriosa

represents a fervent individual expression of love. This differs markedly from the serene tone of objectivity adopted by the writers of the Latin originals. As Bigg remarks: "These solemn old hymns ... are strong, because they are not the outpouring of individual emotions, but an attempt to realise the majesty of God."[35]

The opening of "Vexilla Regis" in Latin consists of a detached impersonal description of the royal standards. Crashaw's text immediately concentrates on the pathos and hope of the "languishing soul":

> Vexilla regis prodeunt,
> Fulget crucis mysterium,
> Quo carne carnis conditor
> Suspensus est patibulo
> (ll 1-4)

> The royal standards advance, the mysterious cross, on which the maker of our flesh was hung by his own crucified body, shines out.

> Look up, languishing Soul! Lo where the fair
> Badg of thy faith calls back thy care,
> And biddes thee ne're forget
> Thy life is one long Debt
> Of love to Him, who on this painfull TREE
> Paid back the flesh he took for thee.
> (ll 1-6)

Yet, despite this more intimate approach to God's love, the familiar diffidence is still present. Just as in "Non dico Me Rogaturum", where the poet expressed his fear of addressing Christ directly, so here the poet initially addresses his own "languishing soul", rather than Christ.

Crashaw also introduces the idea of an act of sacrifice which demands a worshipper's love in return. The sacrifice of suffering is not seen as being given

---

Domina (Washington D.C., 1960), p. 10.

[35] Charles Bigg, D.D. Wayside Sketches in Ecclesiastical History (London, 1906), p. 21.

freely to humanity. In "The Thanksgiving", George Herbert faces the problem of how to respond to the love and sacrifice of the crucifixion. Here Crashaw too tries to discover a way in which human adoration could in any sense pay back the enormous debt of love, which Christ showed in his sacrifice. The Crucifixion is portrayed as the settling of another loan, that of human flesh. Both parties are entered into a commercial contract in which the capital is a peculiar mixture of love and suffering. Labriola comments on the ambivalent reaction that this realisation arouses. He notes that: "Two emotions, guilt and gratitude, are simultaneously aroused from the recognition that Christ has voluntarily suffered the pain and punishment mankind deserves."[36] The metaphor is extended into the second stanza, as the breast that sheds its life becomes "too liberall", as if such a sacrifice is an over-spending of love.

The financial image serves further to complicate the portrayal of love in the next stanza:

> But though great LOVE, greedy of such sad gain
> Usurp't the portion of THY pain,
> And from the nailes & spear
> Turn'd the steel point of fear,
> Their use is chang'd, not lost; and now they move
> Not stings of wrath, but wounds of love.
>
> (ll 13-18)

If we assume that "great Love" is God, then this god is one of greed, and a usurper of others' rights. However, the currency being dealt in is one of pain, and thus a beneficent act of love, is, paradoxically, being enacted, since Love has deprived man of feeling the terrible pain of the cross. The sense of this stanza is further

---

[36] Albert C. Labriola, "Richard Crashaw's *Schola Cordis* Poetry," in Cooper, Essays, pp. 1-12, (p. 3).

complicated by the possibility that the "Love" of the first line, and "Thy" of the second connote different members of the Trinity. If so, then Christ's act of sacrifice has been controlled by the power of love personified, or God the Father. If the two are one person in the Trinity, then "love" is both active and passive at once. Crashaw's refusal to define Love's identity may stem from a wish to make it as all embracing, and fruitfully ambiguous a concept as possible. The central Christian mystery is conceived, in this stanza as inextricable from love. Yet this identification shows the power of both love and the crucifixion to resist easy explanation or interpretation.

The idea of love and suffering is developed in the fifth stanza:

> Large throne of love! Royally spread
> With purple of too Rich a red.
> (ll 25-6)

We return to the idea of love as powerful ruler whose glory derives from suffering. Love may have a throne, but it is the wood of the cross, and the royal purple is Christ's own blood.

Blood is at once a metonymy for suffering and death, and because of its gorgeous purple, is redolent of royal opulence.[37] This is reminiscent of another of Crashaw's crucifixion poems, "On our crucified Lord, naked and bloody":

> Thee with thy selfe they have too richly clad,
> Opening the purple wardrobe of thy side.
> (ll 3-4)

The disturbing image of being clothed in blood is macabre enough when Hal speaks of wearing "a garment all of blood",[38] as Shakespeare implies that a victorious Hal

---

[37] See also Isiah, 63, 1-4, and Mark, 15, 17.

[38] Henry IV Part I. Act III, scene II, l. 135.

will be drenched in the blood of defeated opponents. Crashaw forces us to recognise that Christ's blood is his own, and that the wounded side must be as capacious as a wardrobe.

Although baroque visual art exploited the new freedom to depict physical reality, drenched crucifixes were not produced by painters or sculptors.[39] Crashaw's images are deeply disturbing because of his refusal to take part in the tradition of reticent stylisation of the crucifixion. The image in "Vexilla Regis" is less graphic, but still makes clear that the cross itself has sought "to make good/ Thy costly excellence with thy KING'S own BLOOD."[40] It is not surprising that Crashaw makes the image in the original Hymn much more explicit. The Fifth Stanza of the original describes the cross thus:

> Arbor decora et fulgida,
> Ornata regis purpura,
> Electa digno stipite
> Tam sancta membra tangere
>
> A beautiful, shining tree, decorated with royal purple, with a trunk worthy to touch such chosen sacred limbs.

The Latin poet's image is much less explicit. It is Crashaw who insists on the connection of purple with actual blood. Through such explicit images he forces us, and the soul he addresses, to consider how great is the love that will bear such great suffering. The "costly excellence" refers again to monetary images, but connotes not only beauty, but the surpassing love able to pay this price. The Latin original is a simple description of the crucified Christ, which makes no specific reference to love or to debt. Throughout Crashaw's version of "Vexilla Regis", however, he

---

[39] Petersson, pp. 10-11.

[40] ll. 29-30.

stresses the enormity of the debt which humanity must pay, and thus its implicit guilt for causing Christ to suffer on their behalf. The poem ends with a prayer to "The Lamb whom his own love hath slain", but it is man who must bear the guilt of his death.

In "Adoro Te", another of the hymns which Crashaw adapted, he attempts to settle the debt with a fervent expression of human love. Unusually, Crashaw addresses God directly from the very first line of the poem in his own voice. However, his poem still opens with a tone which is far less confident than the original. Whereas the Latin poem opens "Adoro te devote, latens deitas", (I adore you devoutly, hidden godliness), Crashaw begins "With all the power my poor heart hath." The Latin writer considers his own unworthiness later in the stanza, but in Crashaw's version this dominates the opening of the poem. The real focus of Crashaw's poem is his own efforts to communicate his love. The original Latin hymn is centred on God. It is not the worshipper who is most important but the "Latens Deitas". This, in Crashaw, is translated not as a "hidden Godliness", but "my hidden life". The poet has, at the same time, taken possession of the "deitas", and showed its existential importance for him:

> With all the powres my poor Heart hath
> Of humble love & loyal Faith,
> Thus lowe (my hidden life!) I bow to thee
> Whom too much love hath bow'd more low for me.
> (ll. 1-4)

> Adoro te devote, latens deitas,
> Quae sub his figuris vere latitas;
> Tibi se cor meum totum subicit,
> Quia te contemplans totum deficit.
> (ll 1-4)

> I adore you devoutly, hidden godliness, who truly lies obscured by these outward forms. My soul surrenders itself completely to you, because it is completely overwhelmed by the thought of you.

The act of humbling himself is a response to the sacrifice that God had already made. He may not be sure of a relationship of mutual love, but his own love at least imitates that of the deity, and attempts to settle the debt of love. Yet "humble love" of the human and the "Mighty love" of the divine are by no means on equal terms.

His sense of a disabled love, which nevertheless sustains itself by faith, is central to the rest of the poem. His emphasis on the power of faith is not confined to "Adoro Te". In "Lauda Sion", another hymn about the Eucharist, the emphasis of the stanza which deals with the help of faith in worship is changed from the original Latin:

> Quod non capis, quod non vides,
> Animosa firmat fides
> Praeter rerum ordinem
> (ll. 34-6)
>
> A lively faith will confirm things that are beyond the usual course of things, which you cannot understand or perceive.
>
> Where nature's lawes no leave will give,
> Bold FAITH takes heart, & dares believe.
> (ll. 37-8)

The original merely states that faith helps humans to believe what they cannot physically perceive. Like "Adoro Te", Crashaw's text insists on the boldness and daring of faith in difficult circumstances. In the "Leyden Letter", Crashaw also stressed the importance of faith in the desperate circumstances in which he found himself. He says that all that he can do is to make:

> a resignation of all to God. His good pleasure his gratious providence, ye one for ye end, the other for ye way and meanes to it, unto these do I desire to resolve my totall self.[41]

---

[41] "Leyden Letter", p. xxx.

In life and in his writing, the poet is sure that his faith will prove vital in his struggle not only to love but to survive. The Latin version of "Adoro Te" is a statement of Christian orthodoxy. All possibility that sensuality may be of use in worship is denied, and only hearing, which can let in true words of established dogma, is valued:

> Visus, gustus, tactus, in te fallitur,
> sed auditu solo tuto creditur;
> Credo quidquid dixit dei filius,
> Verbo veritatis nihil verius.
>
> (ll 4-8)

> Sight, taste and touch all fail you, it is only safe to believe in hearing. I believe that whatever the son of God says, no word of truth could be truer.

"Credo" seems deliberately to invoke the recital of Christian orthodoxy in the creed. It seems strange that a poet committed to the "Beauty of Holiness" might agree with such a denial of sensuality. Indeed Crashaw's devotional stance must have been a further factor in the shift of emphasis from the original hymn. In his adaptation, personal faith is akin to love, not coldly intellectual belief:

> Faith can beleive
> As fast as love new lawes can give.
> Faith is my force. Faith strength affords
> To keep pace with those powrfull words.
> And words more sure, more sweet, then they
> Love could not think, truth could not say.
>
> (ll 11-16)

"Faith is my force", he says. Yet this force is to be used to interpret language. Divine love is a law giver, a proponent of "powerful words." Just as "Lauda Sion" describes the Eucharist as "This day's triumphant text",[42] so, for Crashaw, even a direct consideration of divine love produces a further text to be interpreted, with

---

[42] ll. 7-8.

which to "keep pace". Again Crashaw produces an image of the relationship between human and divine as one in which the human tries and fails to live up to the demands of divine love. Love is either a debt which he struggles to pay, or words with which he attempts to keep pace. Again this emphasis is his own, the original is much simpler.

In the hymn no great force is necessary to "keep pace with" these words, as the writer displays an untroubled belief. However Crashaw shows none of this assurance. Faith may be a force, but he needs more help than this. He appeals to love for help:

> Plead for me, love! Alleage & show
> That faith has farther, here, to goe
> And lesse to lean on.
> (ll 19-21)

Crashaw alludes to the language of the King James Bible, which calls Christ "Our advocate".[43] Love is personified as at once prosecution and defence, as a mediator for helpless humans and the giver of the laws that they strive not to break. As Jonson puts it in "To Heaven", God becomes "My judge, my witness, and my advocate."[44] The Latin author makes a simple request:

> Fac me tibi semper magis credere
> In te spem habere, te diligere.
> (ll 15-16)
>
> Give me greater belief, in you I hope and trust.

In place of this Crashaw's poem expresses, at much greater length than the original,

---

[43] John, I, 2, 1. see also Charles Butterworth, The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible 1340-1611, (Philadelphia, 1941), pp. 233-244.

[44] Ben Jonson, "To Heaven", l. 12.

anxieties about ever being able to have sufficient faith to live up to the demands of love:

> Sweet, consider then, that I
> Though allow'd nor hand nor eye
> To reach at thy lov'd face; nor can
> Tast thee GOD nor touch thee MAN
> Both yet beleive;
> (ll 27-31)

The poet strives to reassure himself that belief and faith make adoration possible. Belief, however, appears to be a very weakened quality, which is unable to outweigh all the accumulated negatives. The grief of being unable to see or touch this beloved is hardly, it seems, mitigated by the belated, though brave "both yet beleive".

Only with God's help can he conceive of a means by which he can repay this debt of love:

> Help lord, my Faith, my Hope increase;
> And fill my portion with thy peace.
> Give love for life; nor let my dayes
> Grow, but in new powres to thy name & praise.
> (ll 33-6)

The order in which this request is made may even indicate that a future life of worship is more dependent on faith and hope than on love. This trinity of virtues does, however refer to the biblical comparison of the three virtues, in which love is the highest in value.[45] The phrase "give love for life", also becomes ambiguous in this context. It is unclear whether this is a request to be given love so that he may be enabled to give love and worship to God, or that he may receive love from God. We are also unsure whether this is a plea for some "joie de vivre", for it to endure

---

[45] I Corinthians, Chapter 13, verse 13.

as long as he lives, or to be given the opportunity to emulate the martyrs. The phrase "love for life" could indicate a kind of barter arrangement, whereby he is to sacrifice his life in return for God's love. This hint at sacrifice is, if anything, confirmed, as the next stanza begins with the celebration of the sacrifice of the crucifixion: "O dear memoriall of that Death".[46]

It is also not surprising that words become mixed with the other image so often associated with love, wounding. Once more the paradox of love as suffering provides continuity with other, possibly earlier, hymns. The idea of wounding as a kind of inscription is introduced as "wounds writ thee man". Wounding becomes the action which verifies the idea of God incarnate, as wounds are the only language in which human and divine can speak. It is as if no sort of love, either human or divine can be considered unless it is either a word or a wound, and often, as here, violence and textuality become mixed.

In this context, sacrifice is, unusually, not perceived as autotelic. It is celebrated for Christ's victory over death, and for the resultant advantages for humanity:

> Live ever Bread of loves, & be
> My life, my soul, my surer selfe to mee.
> (ll 43-4)

The crucifixion is not only venerated as an almost incredible sacrifice, made because of love, but for the enduring effects of that love. The bread of the eucharist becomes a symbol of the love that, through sacrifice, now helps sustain the lives of those who receive it. Yet as the final appeal, "Come love! Come LORD!" indicates,

---

[46] l. 36.

this is not a secure celebration of an event that the writer is sure will always happen. It is a plea for its continuation, or in the case of the plea for love to come, for something not already present.

As in the "Epiphany Hymn", and "Hymn to the Name", Crashaw's evocation of love is never stable. The same word is used to connote first human love for God, then love from God to humanity. It then becomes an authoritative law-giver, only to change into an advocate to plead against the laws. It is, variously, the "bread of loves", a personification of the divine, and the precious essence of life itself. The image only resolves when love is associated with suffering. Despite Crashaw's efforts, and faith, the only hope of any closeness is through the indulgence of God's love:

> O soft self-wounding Pelican!
> Whose brest weepes Balm for wounded man.
> Ah this way bend thy benign floud
> To'a bleeding heart that gaspes for blood.
> That blood whose least drops soveraign be
> To wash my worlds of sin from me.
> (ll 45-50)

The paradox that "the wounded is the wounding heart" returns. Humanity is wounded and incomplete, but only through more suffering can it be healed. One drop of blood shed by this sacrificial love is able to achieve all that human faith cannot. The additions which Crashaw made to the Hymns all seem to emphasise a sense of himself as inadequate, and unable to live up to the demands of divine love. Unlike the kings of the "Epiphany Hymn", or Mrs M.R., or St. Teresa, we gain very little sense that any pain involved in the experience of divine love is compensated for by the pleasure experienced as a result.

Despite his experiments with writing in the first-person, it is in a third-

person hymn, "Sancta Maria Dolorum", that Crashaw produces his most remarkable of poems of personal commitment in worship. The original hymn, the "Stabat Mater", was not one of the ancient Ambrosian Hymns, but was originally a Franciscan devotional text, which had become a popular hymn.[47] "The Stabat Mater" was not included in the Roman Breviary until the eighteenth century, and so it is likely that Crashaw knew the version of the Hymn attributed to Jacopone de Todi.[48] Once more Crashaw returns to The Virgin, as a mediator for his love. In the "Nativity Hymn", Crashaw's contemplation of Mary as mother serves to distance him from a direct relationship with the divine. He admires her love, but can conceive of a role for himself only as an additional observer. He can aspire, at most, to being an "amorous spy", a pathetic figure of excluded lover, a representative of the world shut out of the lovers' embrace. It is in a consideration of the Virgin as the suffering "Mater Dolorosa" that Crashaw unites worship of the Virgin, with his conception of love as essentially painful.

Through an investigation of the love of a mother who is, at the same time, a follower of her son, Crashaw is enabled to approach the idea of mutual love between God and the worshipper. If it is impossible for mortals to share in the actual physical pain of the crucifixion, they can at least feel the mental pain of separation from a beloved object. For Catholic meditational writers the suffering of the Blessed Virgin Mary had become a vital link between the realm of human and divine experience and love. The Virgin Mary is celebrated by Puente for her ability to share her son's pain as a result of her love. She is human, and as she mourns her

---

[47] F.J.E. Raby, A History of Christian Latin Poetry, 2nd. edn. (Oxford, 1953), p. 437.

[48] Raby, pp. 438-40.

dying son, she becomes the model of shared suffering and love which the writer aspires to feel. He explains that:

> Seeing then that the B.Virgin and hir Sonne, were mervellous like in complexion and condition, in manners and virtues, yea were two, made one: hence it was, that the sorrow which perced one, perced the other.[49]

This is the unity to which De Sales says, love tends. Here unity is possible because of the relationship of mother and son. Puente implies that the similarity is both caused by family likeness and common saintliness. He examines the reason for the Virgin's shared grief at length, studying it in minute detail. His final conclusion is that:

> Lastlie, the holie Ghost had poured into hir hart, the charitie of almightie God, uniting hir with him, with unitive love, and with hir Sonne. ... And as the force of this love, transposed hir out of hir selfe, and set her in the hart of hir Sonne, so looke what he endured, shee endured, feeling in hir selfe that which shee saw hir Sonne to suffer.[50]

It is vital to note that it is not her love as a mother which makes this possible, but the condescension of heavenly power. Though it might, in human terms, seem a greater act of charity to spare a mother such pain, heavenly love does the opposite. It is obvious that Puente sees her experience as greatly to be desired by humanity. If even a Saint cannot achieve union with God through her own efforts, however, this experience would seem to distance the human worshipper further from union with God. Yet it does offer some hope for Crashaw. In "Adoro Te" he had realised that if he was ever to pay back the debt of love, it would only be with divine help. Though a Saint, in the Gospels Mary is a mortal, and if divine power helps her to a

---

[49] Puente, II, p. 33.

[50] Puente, II, p. 34.

loving union, even through pain, then there is a chance that God may do the same for other humans.

"Sancta Maria Dolorum" begins, like its Latin model, as a third-person narrative, but one with a constantly changing viewpoint. At first Mary is described standing by the cross, but after only four lines we move closer, and the poet's view and hers become almost fused, allowing him and us to see what she sees:

> Before her eyes
> Her's & the whole world's ioyes,
> Hanging all torn she sees;
> (ll. 5-7)

He follows the Latin poem in translating the general incredulity that any human being could fail to feel sympathetic with Mary's plight. He then turns his gaze inwards, and berates himself for insufficient sympathy. He may be able to see what she sees, but cannot enter the intimacy of mother and son, being unable to speak their language of tears. Lines 5-7, "Her eyes bleed TEARES, his wounds weep BLOOD", are so balanced in their antithesis and identical grammatical construction, that they become a metonymy for the mutual love of mother and son.

As the poem develops, so does the poet's desire for real sympathy, that is shared suffering. In stanza 4 of the Latin poem, the syntax effectively excludes the mother from his suffering:

> Vidit suum dulcem natum
> Morientem, desolatum,
> Dum emisit spiritum.
> (ll. 22-4)

She sees her dear son, dying, abandoned, as he yielded up his spirit.

The adjectives all agree with the masculine "natum", while the internal rhyme increases the sense of a closed focus with each adjective referring back to it.

Though "natum" is accusative, the effect on the reader is to concentrate on the son's suffering, and not that of the mother, who fades to the edge of the narrator's gaze. Claydon comments that Crashaw almost makes the mother more important than her son.[51] It seems more likely that his emphasis is not on one at the expense of the other, but on the balanced mutuality of their relationship which is now expressed in a new language:

> O costly intercourse
> Of deaths, & worse,
> Divided loves. While son and mother
> Discourse alternate wounds to one another;
> (ll 21-4)

Both "intercourse", a word not used at this time in a sexual sense,[52] and "discourse" suggest in their Latin roots a running of something, in this case words, between two points or people. "Crashaw's poetry operates a discourse not just of words but of wounds", as Healy comments.[53] This is a language in which the speaker finds himself dumb, relying on words to describe a bond he cannot enter. The weapons in this stanza are not references back to a previous erotic convention, but forward to a discourse of pain. The layout of line 22 makes us pause and wonder what, in this situation, could be worse for her than her son's death. The answer, for Crashaw, is the division of the love of mother and son. Love is able in this context, as in so many before, to transcend death or pain by its superior power.

Here the crucifixion is portrayed in terms of its human cost, as the effect of her son's sacrifice on Mary is examined. Love as expressed by wounding is now

---

[51] Claydon, p. 17.

[52] The OED cites the first usage of "intercourse" in a sexual sense in 1798.

[53] Healy, "Sense of History," p. 56.

approached in a figurative sense. Pain is communicated from one to another, as literal wounds become confused with metaphorical injuries. The movement of the lines themselves emphasises the exchange of this peculiar dialogue:

> His Nailes write swords in her, which soon her heart
> Payes back with more then their own smart
> Her SWORDS, still growing with his pain,
> Turn SPEARES, & straight come home again.
> (ll 27-30)

The other enormous departure that Crashaw's third stanza makes from the Latin, is the introduction of the idea of love amongst all this pain. The Latin hymn only mentions "amor" in the human sense in connection with the love of the narrator for God.[54] Da Todi's text does not consider that grief could be caused by the "divided loves" of son and mother, as if the emotions caused by the suffering of Christ and Mary are too distant or difficult to contemplate. Indeed in all his adaptations of the hymns, as Claydon fails to notice, Crashaw introduces love where it was not present in the original text.

The physical pain of the real "wounds of love", of "Vexilla Regis" is now matched by the mental anguish of the figurative wounds Mary suffers as a result of watching the process of the crucifixion. She is compelled to watch and suffer by love. The scene of the "Stabat Mater" becomes the ideal image for the human seeking divine love. It not only involves the pain and sacrifice of the incarnate god, but a possible response from the human:

> Ah hard command
> Of love! Here must she stand
> Charg'd to look on, & with a steadfast ey
> See her life dy:
> (ll 35-8)

---

[54] "Stabat Mater", ll. 29 and 51.

Mary is forced to "see her life dy", and thus feels a pain made worse because of her passionate passivity. Crashaw has left deliberately uncertain whether the command is an inner or outer impulse, that is, whether she is directed by the powerful personified love, or whether her own emotion compels her to watch. This is in a way a more dreadful death for love than the actual crucifixion, as she has to watch helplessly, and see what makes her life die, without being able to play any positive role. For a human meditating on the crucifixion, it might be possible to feel mental pain. However, he/she can take no active part, just as Crashaw's longing for martyrdom in "Hymn to the Name" is a response to the impotence of the worshipper, who has no positive outlet for his love. Thus she represents a kind of hope for the human worshipper, whose "activ'st part" must be as one of "loves passives".

It is not surprising then, that the poet asks to be lent some grief from the "Soft sourse of love". The pleas, which pervade the whole of the succeeding poem, to "At least be in loves way"[55] derive from the desperate need of poet-as-worshipper to know what it may feel like to enter into such a mutual loving relationship. He pleads that:

> O in that brest
> Of thine (the noblest nest
> Both of Love's fires & flouds) might I recline
> This hard, cold, heart of mine!
> (ll. 45-8)

The image of the heart being implanted in another's body is, a "commonplace

---

[55] l. 66

neoplatonic belief", as Labriola notes,[56] found for example in Sidney's "My true love hath my heart".[57] However Crashaw has altered the trope. He places himself in the usual relationship of mortal to Saint, that is as a supplicant, so that the woman whom he wishes his heart to become part of is not his lover, but an intermediary to love. But he uses not sacred language, but that of a lover, supplicating his mistress. His request becomes even more complex when we realise his desire to lie in her breast is not so much that of a lover, but to take the place of the infant Jesus. She is, after all the "mother turtle-dove" itself a direct juxtaposition a the woman's role as lover and mother. He also wishes not to gain her love, but to be given the ability to give love himself. Without the confidence of an erotic poet, he feels that his heart needs to be taught not only the fire of passionate love, but the tears of its grief. It becomes clear in this stanza that the thought and language are placed under a huge strain by the internal tension of their erotic and religious elements. The only restraining feature of this increasingly centripetal stanza is the unifying image of the whole poem: that of flowing grief.

The tension is resolved in the next stanza, as Crashaw asks to be allowed his own tears so that he may be part of this hitherto exclusive partnership of grief. In effect his address of her as a Queen makes his relationship one of admiration. He no longer wishes to take the son's place, in her breast or on the cross, but to be allowed to grieve for his suffering:

> Yield somthing in thy sad praerogative
> (Great Queen of griefes) & give

---

[56] Labriola, p. 6.

[57] Sir Phillip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford, 1985), p. 167.

Me too my teares; who, though all stone,
Think much that thou shouldst mourn alone.
(ll 57-60)

The language of sexual love has not been abandoned however. Despite the impression we gain that he has decided to opt only for a gentlemanly sympathy with Mary in her grief, in the next Stanza the speaker portrays himself as a dogged but unwanted lover who is determined to wait until he can catch some scraps of love:

That so we may
At least be in loves way;
And in these chast warres while the wing'd wounds flee
So fast twixt him & thee,
My breast may catch the kisse of some kind dart,
Though as at second hand, from either heart.
(ll 65-70)

The vocabulary reminds us of the mixture of eroticism and religious ecstasy that Crashaw uses to describe Teresa's experience. Here the poet himself seems determined to prove that "Loves passives are his activ'st part"; and however pathetic this image of a poet waiting for religious fulfilment like an unhappy lover may be, it conveys to us the strength of feeling inherent in this situation. He also aspires, as he does in the Teresa poems, to the female position of positive love through self abandonment, passivity and pain. Thus his language, connoting as it does not only the religious, but the sexual element of the mystical experience, shares at once a male and female stance. The image of the forelorn lover becomes more complex, however. He is waiting, not for the beloved's kiss, but that "of some kind dart....from either heart". The favours he seeks are those of grief and pain, and not sexual enjoyment.

In Stanza five the poet professes himself happy to be the object of a similar "siege of love" endured by "Mrs M. R." in "On a Prayer Book". The prayer book had been offered as a way of finding Christ's love, Teresa's Vida taught that "Love

is eloquence"; "Mr Herbert's book" had been recommended because "divinest love" lies in this book. Love is now not to be found in an actual book. The text of "This book of loves" is the wounded body of Christ itself. Thus the event is at once contained in Crashaw's text and becomes itself a text that expresses love by being generated by a sacrifice of love.

Love expressed through pain is now not limited to Christ as the sufferer. By Stanza ten it is a metaphorical text that takes His suffering as model, then "copies" the pain into the hearts of those observe it:

> By all those stings
> Of love, sweet bitter things,
> Which these torn hands transcrib'd on thy true heart
> O teach mine too the art
> To study him so, till we mix
> Wounds; and become one crucifix.
> (ll 95-100)

The chain of suffering is like the progression of learning from teacher to pupil. The wounded Christ's torn hands inscribe the pain he feels on his mother's heart. The essential art that the speaker wants to be taught must be love, which has facilitated this transmission: what enables Mary to feel this pain is her love. Now the process has become reciprocal, as wounds transmit love, and love facilitates wounding. When the poet pleads "Fold up my life in love"[58] in the final stanza, we are aware at once of how difficult, yet desirable this is for him. Love must involve pain, either of loss and exclusion, at his inability to share in the crucifixion, or the internal agony, which his model, Mary, feels, if he succeeds in doing so.

Pain is the only possible expression of love in this conversation. Yet, for the

---

[58] l.107.

human poet, it is productive of more than the intensely imagined pain of wounding. The figure of the excluded would-be lover is highly pathetic when he asks to "be in love's way" and that he may, almost accidentally it seems, become the target for such winged wounds. It also attests to his pain at being excluded from suffering. To suffer because you cannot suffer seems a highly confusing paradox, although it is familiar from the work of both Beaumont and St. Bernard. Yet since Crashaw perceives active suffering as part of the process of love, any exclusion from suffering causes a greater pain.

One critical trend perceived Crashaw as an essentially unintellectual poet who is the possessor of a sure, untroubled, and therefore unquestioned relationship with God. Leah Jonas declares that "He had no dark moments of doubt or uncertainty."[59] However, a reading of his treatment of love shows this judgement to be unjust. Far from being sure of a relationship of mutual love with his God, he shows that the achievement, or even description of this is extremely problematic. Despite his exile and conversion to Catholicism, continuity, rather than change, is most noticeable in his writing about love.

As has become apparent, Crashaw's conception of love is rarely stable. In the course of a given poem, the word may be used to signify many different ideas. Love may be taken to mean that which a worshipper gives, or receives from God. It also has many forms. Love may be personified as a lord of power, who mobilises armies, lays down laws, has regal authority, or may appear almost despotic. It may also be a gentler impulse of creation, associated either with images of fecundity or of poetic inspiration. It may inspire generous care for the human race, selfless

---

[59] Leah Jonas, The Divine Science (New York, 1940), p. 223.

giving, or very violent sacrifice, which may come from human martyrs or Christ himself. Finally it may be coterminous with God, but this identification is never made specific, and is always left for the reader to make.

Despite this changeability the constant association to which Crashaw returns is that of love with pain and suffering. It is this thematic continuity which is most striking. There is, however, change within this recurrent theme. If we make any assumptions that the Hymns which appear for the first time in the 1648 and 1652 editions were written after his conversion, it seems that, if anything his view of the relationship between humanity and God became more pessimistic. In earlier poems, like "On a Prayer Book,", "The Epiphany Hymn", and the "Hymn to St. Teresa" there is a noticeable confidence that suffering is necessary if the worshipper is to enjoy the ecstatic love of God. In first-person Hymns like those discussed above, Crashaw introduces pessimistic ideas of debt, guilt, and an inability to live up to the demands of love, which are notably lacking in the Latin originals. When he returns to the exploration of love and pain, through a third-person description, in "Sancta Maria Dolorum", images of grief and suffering predominate and there is no sense of the previous optimism. If suffering is a prerequisite of divine love, then Crashaw is only able to feel the lesser, passive suffering of exclusion, not the positive, ecstatic agony he describes happening to others.

We cannot be sure that any of these poems were written after his conversion, but if they were, they show more continuity with his previous writing than radical changes from it. Although he uses the new poetic strategy of writing in the first-person, many of the techniques he uses are very familiar from other poems. Although Sancta Maria Dolorum is an adaptation of a previously written text, it seems to have beem attractive because it enabled him to return to writing to God

through an intermediary. In this poem as in others, like the "Epiphany Hymn" he was also able to use his technique of developing a Christian portrayal of love by using the analogy of human eroticism.

His membership of the Catholic Church does not seem to have resulted in any greater confidence which may be detected in the poems. They do not appear to reflect the joy of someone who feels he has been accepted as part of a community, and who has faith in a relationship of love with the divine. If they do reflect the changed circumstances in which he found himself after he left Cambridge, it is in the sense of being an exile, excluded and an outsider. In life it is probable that Crashaw never found security, either spiritual or domestic, after his exile. His poems also give the impression of writer who desperately wants to be an accepted insider, but is never able to achieve it.

## Conclusion

Hid under his own flaming wing
Lies love, a secret open thing.[1]

In Beaumont's "Loves Mystery", the poem which forms the epigraph to the introduction to my thesis, the seraphs can only offer this couplet in reply to the enquiry about "what kind of thing is love". Their somewhat cryptic utterance would also be an apt summation of Crashaw's attempts to define, and more to forge, a relationship with divine love. For Crashaw love was a "secret open thing" because, while he was able to describe the loving relationship which others enjoyed with God, he himself was never able to discover the secret of how to achieve such intimacy for himself. While he was able to describe the glorious flames of divine passion as experienced by St.Teresa, or even the mortal Mrs M.R., divine love was to prove as inaccessible for him as if it were hidden beneath a burning barrier.

In his life Crashaw was always to find himself at odds with his own times. In Cambridge he identified himself with a minority faction of ardent Laudians, and this meant that he was opposed the more Calvinist views and observances of the majority. Contrary to what previous biographers have surmised, he remained an outsider even after his European exile and conversion to Catholicism. This sense of exclusion seems to have been an influence on all his poems, not only those which we think he wrote before his conversion. But whether or not any poems were written after he became a Catholic, they all betray the same despair at the poet's inability to achieve a relationship of love with God. He believed he was, it seems, an exile from God as well as his country.

---

[1] Beaumont, "Loves Mystery", ll. 19-20.

The only way in which Crashaw could imagine a close relationship with divine love was through pain. He himself, like Beaumont, was only able to suffer pain caused by his perceived exclusion from God. Like Beaumont's character Psyche, he was ambitious to feel the kind of active suffering for love which Teresa or the Virgin underwent.

By showing a desire for suffering and martyrdom, Crashaw looked back to the experience of the earliest Christians, and to an ancient writer, Prudentius, who had celebrated their struggles. Prudentius had stressed that through martyrdom it was possible for an apparently defeated victim to emerge victorious. Ovid had shown that even in erotic poetry he was enabled to become a writer only through his submission to triumphant love. The idea of the power of defeat was an important influence in Crashaw's later poetry.

Divine love has at times been seen as almost perverted in Crashaw's poetry by the use horrific images of wounding. This seems a distorted view. The use of the language of wounding is very far from being gratuitous. As I have demonstrated, it is used in the context of specific events such as martyrdom, and particularly the crucifixion. Crashaw concentrates on the sacrifice of the crucifixion, and celebrates the love of Christ, who is the ultimate example of a suffering but triumphant victim. He does not celebrate pain and wounding for themselves, but the love that endured them. The more dreadful the suffering seems to those who read about it, then the love must be all the more astounding. Yet the most intense agony seems only to make the exclusion of the worshipper from it more complete.

Crashaw used Ovid and Prudentius as models, and learned from their efforts to produce a discourse for their own writing from an older idiom. By using them as

his example, Crashaw shows a propensity always to look to the past for inspiration. A tendency to value the primitive in worship is constant theme of Crashaw's work. He was a highly accomplished writer of Latin itself, as the Epigrammata Sacrashow. Many of his later, English, poems are based on translation and adaptation of earlier works. Such a taste for translation and for writing in an ancient language would seem to indicate a desire to adapt from the past and what already exists, rather than to innovate.

Even when it is possible to perceive innovation in his work, it is based on the past. Because he fears to speak to God in his own voice he chooses to use intermediaries. But by choosing saintly mediators like the Virgin and St. Teresa, he aligned himself with the ancient Catholic tradition of the veneration of saints. When poems which are written in the first-person appear, they are again based on ancient, Latin Hymns of the Church. He was also to encounter the problem that, as Ovid and Prudentius had discovered, it is impossible entirely to create any kind of "new" discourse. Although he strives to forge a discourse of Christian love, the previous associations of erotic language cannot be abolished, merely destabilised, as they will always retain vestiges of their previous, erotic register. Thus, in a sense, a poet who was by nature retrospective was unable to break from the past, even while attempting to define a discourse of Christian love for the present.

Meditational writing does seem to have been an influence on Crashaw's portrayal of love, but although we know that he had read St. Francis de Sales' work, it is to a far older source that he turns for his chief influence. St. Bernard's struggles adequately to love God may have been a congenial influence for Crashaw, but they also show how once more he turns constantly towards the primitive. Such a taste for the ritual and worship of the early church was not only a matter of personal

taste, however, it also attests to his commitment to the Laudians. Not only was St. Bernard's work associated with them, but Laud himself repeatedly stressed the importance of the ceremonies of the primitive church.

The poetry of Crashaw's friend Joseph Beaumont is full of nostalgia, and betrays the suffering of a man whose life in the Laudian enclave of Peterhouse has been disrupted by the violence of war. Nostalgia may be a means by which a poet can create a personal space for himself in a warring and uncongenial present, by recreating pleasant memories. Yet this kind of yearning for a lost recent past is too simple a description for Crashaw's retrospective attitudes. Throughout his poems he always stresses continuity with traditions of ancient writing and worship. His desire to look back is not to regret what is lost to him, but to emphasise the value of what remains. He may develop a new discourse from what had existed previously, but readers are encouraged to notice the relationship between the love expressed in his text and its older exemplars.

Crashaw, then, never portrays any kind of love, whether from God or humanity, as an easy emotion. It is difficult to define, to understand, to express and even to feel. The relationship of love that is so essential to worship is fraught with difficulty, but the struggle to achieve it lies at the heart of all Crashaw's poetry.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Primary sources

### Manuscripts

Barnes, Joshua. Emmanuel College Manuscript III.1.11. no. 173.

Beaumont, Charles. "A Collection of My Father's Latin Speeches." Peterhouse Ms. 459.

Beaumont, Joseph. Commonplace Book, Peterhouse Ms. 446.

___ Private Prayers and Devotions, Peterhouse Ms. 445.

Bodleian Ms. Eng. Poet. e.122.

Bodelian Mss. Tanner 465 and 466.

British Library Harleian Manuscript. 7019

Cambridge University Archives, Records of the Vice Chancellor's Court II.36.40

Folger Ms. Va. 137

Holdsworth, Richard. "Directions for a Student in the Universitie." Emmanuel College Manuscript 1.2.27, 1.

### Unpublished PhD Theses

Beddow, Robert. The English Verse of Robert Southwell: A critical Study of Southwell's English Lyrics within the Recusant Context. Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Cambridge, 1987.

Hoyle, David. Near Popery yet no Popery: Theological Debate in Cambridge, 1590-1644. Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Cambridge, 1991.

Larsen, Kenneth. The Religious Sources of Richard Crashaw's Sacred Poetry. Unpublished PhD. Thesis. Cambridge, 1969.

Printed Books

de Alcántara, Pedro. A Golden Treatise of Mentall Praier. trans. Giles Willoughby. Brussels, 1632.

___ Tratado de la Oracion y Meditacion. Seville, 1587.

Anon. Legenda Lignea: with an Answer to Mr. Birchley's Moderator Pleading for a Toleration of Popery. And a Character of some Hopeful Saints Revolted to the Church of Rome. London, 1653.

Aubrey, John. Brief Lives. ed. Anthony Powell. London, 1949.

Balanquhall, Walter. The Honour of Christian Churches. London, 1633.

Bayley, Lewis. The Practise of Pietie. London, 1631.

Beaumont, Joseph. Psyche Or Loves Mystery. Cambridge 1648.

___ Psyche. 2nd edn. ed. Charles Beaumont. Cambridge, 1701.

___ Original Poems in English and Latin. ed. John Gee. Cambridge, 1749.

___ The Minor Poems. ed. E. Robinson. Boston and New York, 1914.

Bargrave, John. Pope Alexander the Seventh and the College of Cardinals. ed. James Craigie Robertson. London, 1867.

Bellarmine, Robert. A Most Learned and Pious Treatise, full of divine and Humane Philosophy, framing a Ladder, whereby our Mindes may Ascende to God by a Ladder of Things Created. Douay, 1616.

___ De Ascencione Mentis in Deum per Scalas rerum Creaturum. Antwerp, 1615.

Benlowes, Edward. Theophila: or Loves Sacrifice. London, 1652.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux. St Bernard, His Meditations: or Sighs, Sobbes, and Teares upon our Saviours Passion. London, 1631.

Boughen, Edward. A Sermon Concerning Decencie and Order in the Church. London, 1638.

Carre, Thomas. Pietas Parisiensis or A Short Description of the Piety and Charity Commonly Exercised in Paris. Paris, 1646.

Catullus. The Poems of Catullus. ed. and trans. James Michie. London, 1972.

___ Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, et in eum Comentarius. Venetiis, 1515.

Chambers, Sabine. The Garden of our B. Lady. London, 1619.

Cowley, Abraham. Poems. London, 1656.

Crashaw, Richard. Epigrammatum Sacrorum Liber. Cambridge, 1634.

___ Steps to the Temple, with other Delights of the Muses. London, 1646.

___ Steps to the Temple. Sacred poems. With Other Delights of the Muses. The second edition Wherein are added divers pieces not before extant. London, 1648.

___ Carmen Deo Nostro. Paris, 1652.

___ The Poems, English, Latin and Greek, Of Richard Crashaw. ed. L.C. Martin. Oxford, 1927.

___ The Complete Poetry of Richard Crashaw. ed. George Walton Williams. New York, 1972.

Crashaw, William. A Manuall for True Catholickes. London, 1611.

Cudworth, Ralph. A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, At Westminster, March 31. 1647. Cambridge, 1647.

Denison, John. The Heavenly Banquet. London, 1631.

Dodd, Charles. Church History of England, from the Year 1500 to the Year 1688. Chiefly with Regard to Catholickes. 3 vols. Brusells, 1739-42.

Donne, John. Poems by J.D. With elegies on the Author's death. London, 1633.

___ The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets. ed. Helen Gardner. Oxford, 1965.

___ The Divine Poems. ed. Helen Gardner. 2nd. edn. Oxford, 1978.

Duncon, Eleazor. Of Worshipping Towards the Altar. London 1660.

Forbes, William. Considerationes Modestae. Edinburg, 1658.

Foxe, John. Actes and Monuments. London, 1563.

St. Francis de Sales, An Introduction to a Devoute Life. trans. John Yakesley. Rouen, 1614.

___ Introduction à la Vie Dévote. Lyons, 1630.

___ A Treatise of the Love of God, trans. Thomas Carre. Douay, 1630.

___ Traicté de L'amour de Dieu. Paris, 1647.

Fuller, Thomas. The History of the University of Cambridge since the Conquest. Cambridge, 1655.

Garnet, Henry. The Societie of the Rosarie. Newly Augmented together with the life of the glorious Virgin Marie. St. Omers, 1624.

Gee, John. The Foot of the Snare. With a Detection of Sundry Practices and Impostures of the Priests in England. London, 1624.

Gherus, Iohannes. Delitiae CC Italorum Poetarum. Frankfurt, 1608.

de Granada, Luis. Of Prayer and Meditation. Trans. Richard Hopkins. Paris, 1582.

___ Of Prayer and Meditation. Trans. Richard Hopkins. London, 1592.

___ Of Prayer and Meditation. Trans. Richard Hopkins. London, 1602.

___ Libro de la Oracion y Maditacion. Anvers, 1556.

Hakewill, George. A Sermon Preached at Barnstaple. London, 1632.

Hall, Joseph. The Works of Joseph Hall. London, 1625.

Hawkins, Henry. Partheneia Sacra. Rouen, 1633.

Herbert, George. The Temple, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations. Cambridge, 1633.

___ The Complete Works of George Herbert. ed. F.E. Hutchinson. Oxford, 1941.

Herrick, Robert. The Poems of Robert Herrick ed. L.C. Martin. London, 1965.

Heylyn, Peter. Microcosmos, London, 1631.

___ Antidotum Lincolniense, London, 1637.

Horace. Poemata: Cum Commentariis Joh. Minellii. London, 1576.

___ The Odes of Horace. ed. Kenneth Quinn. London, 1980.

I.B. Virginalia. Or Spirituall Sonnets in Praise of the Virgin Marie. Rouen, 1632.

Lloyd, David. "Richard Crashaw." in Memoires of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings and Deaths of those Noble, and Excellent Personages, that Suffered by Death, Sequestration, Decimation, or Otherwise for the Protestant Religion. London, 1688.

Loarte, Gaspare. The Exercise of a Christian Life. Rhiems, 1584.

St. Ignatius Loyola. Exercitia Spiritualia. Rome, 1606.

Marlowe, Christopher. All Ovid's Elegies. London, 1599.

___ The Works of Christopher Marlowe. ed. C.F. Tucker Brooke. Oxford, 1966.

___ The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe. ed. Roma Gill. Oxford, 1987.

Matthew, Sir Tobie. The Widdowes Mite, cast into the treasure-house of the prerogatives and prayses of our B. Lady. Douai, 1619.

Meres, Francis. Palladis Tamia, in Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. Gregory Smith, 2 vols. Oxford, 1904, II. pp. 317-8.

de Molina, Antonio. A Treatise of Mentall Prayer. trans. J Sweetman. St. Omer, 1617.

___ Exercicios Espirituales. Pamplona, 1618.

More, Henry. Psychodia Platonica or a Platonicall Song of the Soul. Cambridge, 1642.

___ Philosophicall Poems. Cambridge. 1647.

___ "The Purification of a Christian Man's Soul." In Discourses on Several texts of Scripture. ed. John Worthington, London, 1692

___ Philosophical Poems of Henry More. ed. Geoffrey Bullough. Manchester, 1931.

Montagu, Richard. An Immediate Addresse unto God alone ... since revised and inlarged to include a Just Treatise on the invocation of the Saints. London, 1624.

___ Appello Caesarem: A Just Appeale from Two Unjust Informers. London, 1625.

N.N. Maria Triumphans. A discourse wherein by way of a dialogue The B. Mother of God is defended, and vindicated, from all such dishonours and indignities which the precisions of these dayes are accostomed uniustly to charge her. Douai, 1635.

Ovid. P. Ovidii Nasonis, Poetae Sulmonensis Poemata Amatoria. Antwerp, 1568.

___ P. Ovidii Nasonis, Poetae Sulmonis Operum Cum Doctorum Virorum Comentariis. Frankfurt, 1601.

___ Amores, Medicamina faciei feminae, Ars Amatoria, Remedia Amoris ed. E.J.Kenney. Oxford, 1961.

Peckard, P. Memoirs of the Life of Mr Nicholas Ferrar. Cambridge, 1790.

Plato, Opera Omnia. Frankfurt, 1602.

Prudentius. Aurelii Prudentii Clementis: Carmina. ed. Maurice P. Cunningham. Turnholt, 1966.

___ Prudentius. Trans. H.D.Thomson, London, 1979.

___ Sedulii Carmen Paschale. Aureli Prudentii Poemata. Milan, 1501.

___ Aureli Prudentii Clementis in quo scribitur passio beati Romani Martyres. Deventer, 1503.

___ Aurelii Prudentii Clementis, Viri Consularis, Opera. Antwerp, 1536.

___ Aurelii Prudentii Clementis viri consularis, Peri Stephanon. Leipzig, 1538.

___ Aurelii Prudentii Clementi viri consularis, rerum divinarum. Lyons, 1558.

___ Aurelii Prudentii Clementis V.C. Sacra Quae Extant Poemata omnia. Basle, 1562.

___ Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, Opera. Antwerp, 1564.

___ Aurelii Prudentii Clementis V.C Opera. Amsterdam, 1605.

___ Aurelii Prudenti Clementis V.C. Opera Noviter Ad Msc idem Recensita, Interpolata, innuminis a mendis pergata, Notisque et Indice accurato illustrata. Hanover, 1613.

___ Aureli Prudenti Clementis V.C. Opera. Amsterdam, 1631.

Pseudo-Bonaventure. Emblems and Hieroglyphikes. London, 1635.

de la Puente, Luis. Meditations upon the Mysteries of our Holie Faith, with the Practise of Mental Prayer touching the same, trans. John Heigham. 2 vols. St Omer, 1619.

___ Meditaciones de los Mysterios de nuestra Santa Fe. Valladolid, 1613.

Robarts, Foulke. God's Holy House and Service according to the Primitive and most Christian form Thereof. London, 1633.

Rust, George. The Remains of that Reverend and Learned Prelate, Mr George Rust. London, 1686.

Sanderson, Robert. Twelve Sermons. London, 1632.

Scaliger, Julius Caesar. Poetices Libri Septem. Lyons, 1561.

Scupoli, Lorenzo. The Spiritual Conflict. Rouen, 1613.

___ Combattimento Spirituale. Paris, 1660.

Shakespeare, William. The Sonnets and A Lover's Complaint. ed. John Kerrigan. Harmondsworth, 1986.

Shaw, John. The Blessednes of Marie the mother of Jesus. London, 1618.

Shelford, Robert. Five Pious and Holy Discourses. Cambridge, 1635.

Sidney, Sir Phillip. The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia: The Old Arcadia ed. Jean Robertson, Oxford, 1973.

Smart, Peter. Canterburies Cruelty. London, 1643.

Smith, John. Select Discourses. 2nd. edn. London, 1673.

Smith, Miles. Sermons. London, 1632.

Southwell, Robert. The Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J. eds James H. McDonald and Nancy Pollard Brown. Oxford, 1967.

Southwell, Sir Robert. Letter from Rome to Sir John Percivale, 23. Dec, 1660. In Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont. London, 1905, I, part 2, pp. 615-16.

Sweetnam, John. The Paradise of Delights or the B. Virgin's Garden of Loreto. St. Omer, 1620.

R.T. De Templis, a Treatise of Temples wherein is discovered the manner of building, consecrating and adoring Churches. London 1638.

Taylor, John. The Life and Death of ... the Virgin Mary. London, 1620.

Tedder, Richard. A Sermon Preached at Wymondham in Norfolk. London, 1637.

St. Teresa of Avila. The Vida, The Flaming Hart, or the Life of the Glorious S. Teresa. Trans. Sir Toby Matthew. Antwerp, 1642.

Torsellino, Orazio. The History of our Blessed Lady of Loreto. St. Omer, 1608.

Vaenius. Amoris Divini Emblemata. Antwerp, 1660.

Vida, Marco Girolamo. The Christiad. ed. and trans. Gertrude C. Drake, and Clarence A. Forbes. London and Amsterdam, 1978.

Walton Izaac. The Lifes of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wooton, Mr. Richard Hooker and Mr. George Herbert. London, 1670.

Watson, Richard. The Rt. Rev. John Cosin ... his Opinion ... for Communicating rather with Geneva than Rome. London, 1684

Weil, Simone. The Notebooks of Simone Weil. trans. Arthur Wills. London, 1956.

Whichcote, Benjamin. "The Use of Reason in all Matters of Religion." In Select Sermons. ed. Anthony, Third Earl of Shaftesbury. London, 1698. pp. 79-117.

Winstanley, William. "The Life of *Launcelot Andrewes* Bishop of Winchester." In England's Worthies. Select Lives of the Most Eminent Persons of the

English Nation from Constantine the Great to the Death of Cromwell. London, 1660.

Wood, Anthony. "Fasti Oxonienses." in Athenae Oxonienses. Oxford, 1692.

Wren, Matthew. Memoriae, Veritati, Vertuti Sacram Laurum Pembrochianam Semper Virentibus Foliis Inscripta Nomina eorum qui Bibliothecae huic Donaria Contulere In Pieteato Gratitudinis, Oficiique Testimonium Posuit, Collegii Pembrochiam Devotissimus. Cambridge, 1617.

Yates, John. A Treatise in Honour of God's House. London, 1637.

Secondary sources

Adams, Robert M. "Taste and Bad-taste in Metaphysical poetry, Richard Crashaw and Dylan Thomas". Hudson Review 8, 1955, 61-77.

Albion, Gordon. Charles I and the Court of Rome. London, 1935.

Allen, Archibald W. "'Sincerity' and the Roman Elegists." Classical Philology 45, (1950), 145-60.

___ "Elegy and the Classical Attitude towards Love: Propertius I, 1." Yale Classical Studies 11, (1950), 253-277.

Allison, A.F. Four Metaphysical Poets. A Bibiliographical catalogue of Early Editions of their Poetry and Prose. Folkstone and London, 1974.

___ "Some influences on Crashaw's poem, 'On a Prayer Book Sent to Mrs M.R.'" RES 23, (1947), 34-42.

___ "Crashaw and St. François de Sales." RES, 24 (1948), 295-302.

___ "Who was John Brerely? The Identity of a Seventeenth Century Controversialist." Recusant History, 16 (1982), 17-41.

Anderson, James B. "Richard Crashaw, St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross." Discourse, 10 (1967), 421-8.

Arber, Edward. A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640. III, London, 1876.

Baldwin, T.W. William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke. Urbana, Ill., 1944.

Balsdon, J.P.V.D. Roman Women: Their History and Habits. London, 1962.

Barbato, Louis R. "Crashaw, Marino and the *Sospetto d'Herode*." Philological Quarterly, 54 (1975), 522-7.

Barker, Francis. The Tremulous Private Body, Essays on Subjection. London, 1984.

Bate, Jonathan. Shakespeare and Ovid. Oxford, 1993.

de la Bedoyère, Michael. St. Francis De Sales. London, 1960.

Benet, Diana. "The Redemption of the Sun: Crashaw's Christmastide Poems." In Robert M. Cooper, Essays On Richard Crashaw. Salzburg, 1979. pp. 129-145.

Bennett, J.A.W. "Recusants and Hymnodists." In his Poetry of the Passion: Studies in Twelve Centuries of English Verse. Oxford, 1982. pp. 168-198.

Bertonasco, Marc F. Crashaw and the Baroque. Alabama, 1971.

___"A Jungian Reading of Crashaw's 'The Flaming Heart.'" in Cooper, Essays. pp. 224-64.

Bigg, Charles. Wayside Sketches in Ecclesiastical History. London, 1906.

Binns, J.W. ed. Ovid. London, 1973.

___ ed. The Latin Poetry of English Poets. London and Boston, 1974.

___ Intellectual Culture an Elizabethan and Jacobean Literature: The Latin Writings of the Age. Leeds, 1990.

Boff, Leonardo. The Maternal face of God: The Feminine and its Religious Expressions. Trans. Robert Barr and John Diercksmeier. New York, 1987.

Bossy, John. The English Catholic Community 1570-1850. London, 1975.

Bray, Alan. Homosexuality in Renaisssance England. London, 1982.

Brodnick, J. The Life and Work of the Blessed Robert Franciscus Cardinal Bellarmine. London, 1928.

Brown, Peter. The Making of Late Antiqiuty. Cambridge Mass. and London, 1978

___ Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity. London, 1982.

Burrow, Colin. "Original Fictions: Metamorphoses in *The Faerie Queen*." In Martindale, Ovid Renewed. pp. 99-119

Butterworth, Charles. The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible 1340-1611. Philadelphia, 1941.

Cahoon, Leslie. "The Bed as Battlefield: Erotic Conquest and Military Metaphor in Ovid's Amores." TAPhA 118, (1988), 293-307.

Cairns, Francis. Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry. Edinburgh, 1972.

___ Tibullus, a Hellenistic Poet at Rome. Cambridge, 1979.

Calmette, J. and David, H. St. Bernard. Paris, 1953.

Campbell, Lily B. Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth Century England. Cambridge, 1959.

Clausen, Wendell. "An Interpretation of the *Aeneid*." HSPC 68, (1964), 139-47.

Claydon, Sister Margaret. Richard Crashaw's Paraphrases of the Vexilla Regis, Stabat Mater, Adoro Te, Lauda Sion Salvatorem, Dies Irae and O Gloriosa

Domina. Washington D.C., 1960.

Clissold, Stephen. St. Teresa of Avila. London, 1979

Clutton-Brock, A. "The Fantastic school of English Poetry." In The Cambridge Modern History, ed. A.W. Ward, G.W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes. Vol. 4, The Thirty Years' War. Cambridge, 1906. pp. 760-775.

Colie, Rosalie L. Light and Enlightenment: A Study of the Cambridge Platonists and the Dutch Arminians. Cambridge, 1957.

Collmer, Robert G. "Crashaw's 'Death more Mysticall and High.'" Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 55 (1956), 373-80.

Colville, Henri. Mazarin et ses Démêlés avec Pape Innocent X. Paris, 1914.

Connor, Peter J. "His Dupes and Accomplices: A Study of Ovid the Illusionist in the *Amores*." Ramus, 3 (1974), 18-40.

Cooper, Robert M. ed. Essays on Richard Crashaw. Salzburg, 1979.

___ A Concordance to the English Poetry of Richard Crashaw. Troy, New York, 1981.

___ An Essay on the Art of Richard Crashaw. Salzburg, 1982.

Copley, Frank Olin. "*Servitium Amoris* in the Roman Elegists." TAPhA, 78 (1947), 285-300.

Cory, Herbert E. "Spenser, the School of the Fletchers and Milton." University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 2 (1912) 311-373.

Crocker, Robert. "Mysticism and Enthusiasm in Henry More." Henry More, Tercentenary Studies. ed. Sarah Hutton. Dordrecht, 1990.

Crook, J. A. The Law and Life of Rome. London, 1967.

Cunnar, Eugene R. "Crashaw's Hymn 'To the Name above every Name': Background and Meaning." in Cooper, Essays, pp. 102-129,

___ "Crashaw's 'Sancta Maria Dolorum': Controversy and Coherence." In Roberts, New Perspectives, pp. 99-126.

Cunningham, Maurice P. "The Contexts of Prudentius' Poems." Classical Philology, 71 (1976), 56-66.

Davenport, A. "George Herbert and Ovid." Notes and Queries, 200 (1955), 98.

Davis, Charles. Body as Spirit: The Nature of Religious Feeling. London, 1976.

Davis, John T. "*Exempla* and Anti-*Exempla* in the *Amores* of Ovid." Latomus, 39 (1980), 412-17.

Davis, Walter T. "The Meditative Hymnody of Richard Crashaw." ELH, 50 (1983), 107-131.

Davies, Julian. The Caroline Captivity of the Church: Charles I and the Remoulding of Anglicanism 1625-1641. Oxford 1992.

Denbigh, Cecilia, Countess of. Royalist Father and Roundhead Son: Being the Memoires of the First and Second Earls of Denbigh. London, 1915.

De Pauley, W.C. The Candle of the Lord: Studies in the Cambridge Platonists. London, 1937.

Dobrez, Livio. "The Crashaw-Teresa Relationship." Southern Review, 5 (1972), 21-37.

Dodds, Michael J. The Unchanging God of Love: A Study of the Teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas on Divine Immutability in View of Certain Contemporary Criticism of this Doctrine. Fribourg, 1986.

Duffy, Eamon. The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580. New Haven and London, 1992.

Duncan-Jones, Elsie Elizabeth. "Who was the Recipient of Crashaw's Leyden Letter?" In Roberts, New Perspectives. pp. 174-179.

Duquesnay, Ian M. Le L-M. "The Amores." In Binns, Ovid.

Edwards, Francis, SJ. The Jesuits in England from 1580 to the Present Day. London, 1985.

Eliot, T.S. "The Metaphysical Poets." TLS, (October 20th, 1921), pp. 669-70.

____ "Review of The Poems, English, Latin, and Greek, of Richard Crashaw." The Dial, 84 (1928), 246-50.

Elsky, Martin. "History, Liturgy and Point of View in Protesant Meditative Poetry." Studies in Philology, 77 (1980), 67-83.

Emperor, John Bernard. The Catullan Influence on English Lyric Poetry. Columbia, 1928.

Empson, William. Seven Types of Ambiguity. 2nd. edn. London, 1947.

____ Some Versions of Pastoral. London, 1935.

Erskine-Hill, Howard. The Augustan Idea in English Literature. London, 1983.

Fabry, Frank. "Richard Crashaw and the Art of Allusion: Pastoral in 'A Hymn to Sainte Teresa.'" ELR, 16 (1986), 373-82.

Farnham, Antony E. "St Teresa and the Coy Mistress." Boston University Studies

in English. 2, (1956) 226-39.

Fischer, Sandra K. "Crashaw, Ste. Teresa and the Icon of Mystical Ravishment." Journal of Evolutionary Psychology, 4 (1983), 182-195.

Foley, Henry, SJ. ed. Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. 7 Vols. London, 1875.

Foucault, Michel. The Uses of Pleasure: The History of Sexuality Vol. II. trans. Robert Hurley. New York, 1984.

Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth. "Literary Criticism and the Politics of the New Historicism." In The New Historicism. ed. H. Aram Veeser. London, 1989. pp. 213-224.

Fraenkel, Eduard. Horace. Oxford, 1957.

Freeman, Rosemary. English Emblem Books. London, 1948.

von Freiherr, Pastor Ludwig. The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages. trans. Dom. Ernest Graf. (London, 1940).

French, Marilyn. Shakespeare's Division of Experience. New York, 1981.

Fyler, J.M. "*Omnia Vincit Amor*: Incongruity and the Limitations of Structure in Ovid's Elegiac Poetry." Classical Journal, 66 (1971), 196-203.

Galinsky, Karl. "The Triumph Theme in Augustan Elegy." Wiener Studien NS, 3 (1969), 75-107.

Geertz, Clifford. The Interpretation of Cultures. London, 1975

Gilman, E.B. Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation. Chicago and London, 1986.

Gosse, Edmund. "Richard Crashaw." The Cornhill Magazine, 47 (1883), 424-38.

Gottlieb, Sidney. "The Social and Political Backgrounds of George Herbert's Poetry." In Summers and Pebworth, Muses Commonweale. pp. 107-118.

Grant, Patrick. "Richard Crashaw and the Capuchins: Imagery and the force of Belief." In his Images and Ideas in the Literature of the English Reformation. Amherst, 1979. pp. 89-128,

Greenblatt, Stephen. Renaissance Self Fashioning from More to Shakespeare. Chicago, 1980.

Greene, Thomas M. The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry. New Haven, 1982.

Griffin, Jasper. Latin Poets and Roman Life. London, 1985.

Guth, Paul. Mazarin. Paris, 1972.

Haller, William. Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation. London, 1963.

Hall, A. Rupert. Henry More: Magic, Religion and Experiment. Oxford, 1990.

Hallett, Judith P. "The Role of Women in Roman Elegy: Counter Cultural Feminism." Arethusa, 6 (1974), 103-24.

Halperin, David M. One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and other Essays on Greek Love. London, 1990.

Hamer, Mary. Signs of Cleopatra. London and New York, 1993.

Healy, Thomas F. Richard Crashaw. Leyden, 1986.

____ "Crashaw and the Sense of History." In Roberts New Perspectives. pp. 49-65.

Healy, Thomas F. and Sawday, Jonathan. eds. Literature and the English Civil War. Cambridge, 1990.

Hamilton, Elizabeth. Henrietta Maria. London, 1976.

Henderson, J.W. "Violence in Prudentius' *Peristephanon*." Akroterion 28 (1983), 84-92.

Hibbard, Caroline. Charles I and the Popish Plot. Chapel Hill, 1983.

Hill, Christopher. "Benlowes and his Times." Essays in Criticism, 3 (1935), 143-151.

Hilyard, Joseph P. "The Negative Wayfarers of Richard Crashaw's 'A Hymn in the Glorious Epiphanie.'" In Cooper, Essays. pp. 169-195.

Hoffman, J.G. "The Puritan Revolution and the 'Beauty of Holiness' at Cambridge." Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 72 (1984), 94-106

Holleman, A.W.J. "Ovid and Politics." Historia, 20 (1971), 458-66.

Hoyles, John. The Waning of the Renaissance 1640-1740: Studies in the Thought and Poetry of Henry More, John Norris and Isaac Watts. The Hague, 1971.

Hughes, Geoffrey. Words in Time: A Social History of the English Vocabulary. Oxford, 1988.

Hughes-Hallett, Lucy. Cleopatra: Histories Dreams and Distortions. London, 1990.

Jacobus, Lee A. "Crashaw as a Mannerist." Bucknell Review, 18 (1970), 79-88.

Jameson, Caroline. "Ovid in the Sixteenth Century." In Binns, Ovid, pp. 210-243.

Jameson, Frederic. "Religion and Ideology: A Political Reading of *Paradise Lost*." In Literature, Politics and Theory: Papers from the Essex Conference 1976-84. eds. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iverson and Diana Loxley. London, 1986. pp. 35-56.

Jardine, Lisa. Still Harping on Daughters. Woman and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare. Hemel Hempstead, Herts, 1983.

Jed, Stephanie H. Chaste Thinking: The Rape of Lucretia and the Birth of Humanism. Bloomington, Ind., 1989.

Jenkins, Harold. Edward Benlowes 1602-1676: Biography of a Minor Poet. London, 1952.

Jonas, Leah. The Divine Science: The Aesthetic of Some Representative Seventeenth Century English Poets. New York, 1940.

Kane, Elisha M. Gongorism and the Golden Age: A Study of Exuberance and Unrestraint in the Arts. Chapel Hill, 1928.

Keach, William. Elizabethan Erotic Narratives: Irony and Pathos in the Ovidian Poetry of Shakespeare, Marlowe and their Contemporaries. New Brunswick, 1977.

Kelliher, Hilton. "Crashaw at Cambridge." In Roberts, New Perspectives. pp. 180-214.

Kennedy, Duncan F. "Augustan and Anti-Augustan: Reflections on Terms of Reference." In Powell, Roman Poetry. pp. 26-59

Kenney, E.J. "Nequitiae Poeta." In Ovidiana: Recherches sur Ovide. ed. N.I. Herescu. Paris, 1958. pp. 201-9.

____"Ovid and the Law." Yale Classical Studies, 21 (1969), 241-63.

Kerrigan, William. "The Fearful Accommodations of John Donne." ELR, 4 (1974), 337-63.

Khan, Akbar. "*Ovidius Furens*: A revaluation of *Amores* I,7." Latomus, 25 (1966), 880-94.

King, John N. English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of a Protestant Tradition. Princeton, 1982.

Kristeva, Julia. Tales of Love. Trans. Leon S. Roudiez. New York, 1987.

Labriola, Albert C. "Richard Crashaw's *Schola Cordis* Poetry." In Cooper, Essays. pp. 1-12,

Lake, Peter. "The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s." In The Early Stuart Church 1603-1642. ed. Kenneth Fincham. London, 1993. pp. 161-186.

Lanham, R.A. The Motives of Eloquence: Literary Rhetoric in the Renaissance. New Haven, 1976.

LaPorte, Jean. The Role of Women in Early Christianity. New York and Toronto, 1982.

Larsen, Kenneth. "Some Light on Richard Crashaw's Final Years in Rome." Modern Language Review, 66 (1971), 492-6.

___ "Richard Crashaw's *Epigrammata Sacra.*" In Binns Latin Poetry. pp. 93-120.

Laurens, Pierre, and Balavoine, Claudie. Musae Reduces: Anthologie de la Poésie Latin dans l'Europe de la Renaissance. 2 Vols. Leiden, 1975.

Lerner, Lawrence. "Ovid and the Elizabethans." In Martindale, Ovid Renewed. pp. 121-136.

Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G. Continuity and Change in Roman Religion. Oxford, 1979.

Lewalski, Barbara K. Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth Century Religious Lyric. Princeton, 1979.

Lichtenstein, Aaron. Henry More: The Rational Theology of a Cambridge Platonist. Harvard, 1962.

Low, Antony. Loves Architecture: Devotional Modes in Seventeenth Century English Poetry. New York, 1978.

___ The Reinvention of Love: Poetry, Politics and Culture from Sidney to Milton. Cambridge, 1993.

Luck, Georg. "The Woman's role in Latin Love poetry." In Perspectives of Roman Poetry. ed. G. Karl Galinsky. Austin Texas, 1974. pp. 15-30.

Lyne, R.O.A.M. "The Neoteric poets." C Q, 28 (1978), 167-87.

___ The Latin Love Poets from Catullus to Ovid. Oxford, 1980.

McAdoo, H.R. The Structure of Caroline Moral Theology. London, 1947.

___ The Spirit of Anglicanism: A Survey of Theological Method in the Seventeenth Century. London, 1965.

McMahon, April M.S. Understanding Language Change. Cambridge, 1994.

McPeek, James A.S. Catullus in Strange and Distant Britain. Cambridge Mass., 1939.

Mack, Sara. Ovid. New Haven and London, 1988.

Malamud, Martha A. The Poetics of Transformation: Prudentius and Classical

Mythology. Ithaca and London, 1989.

Marcus, Leah Sinanoglou. "The Poet as Child: Herbert, Herrick and Crashaw." In Childhood and Cultural Despair: A Theme and Variations in Seventeenth-Century Literature. Pittsburgh, 1978. pp. 94-152.

Martindale, Charles. ed. Ovid Renewed: Ovidian Influences on Art and Literature from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century. Cambridge, 1988.

Martz, Louis. The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century. 2nd. edn. New Haven and London, 1962.

Matthews, A.G. Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy During the Grand Rebellion. 2nd. edn. Oxford, 1988.

Mayor, J.E.B. ed. Nicholas Ferrar: Two Lives by His Brother John and Dr Jebb. Cambridge, 1855.

Miner, Earl. The Cavalier Mode from Jonson to Cotton. Princeton, 1971.

Montrose, Louis Adrian. "'Eliza, Queene of Shepheardes' and the Pastoral of Power." ELR, 10 (1980), 153-82.

___ "'Shaping Fantasies': Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture." Representations, 2 (1983), 61-94.

___ "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture." in Veeser, New Historicism. pp. 15-36.

Morrill, John. "The Church in England, 1642-9." In Reactions to the English Civil War 1642-49. ed. Morrill. London, 1982. pp. 89-114.

___ "The Religious context of the English Civil War." Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. 5th series, No. 34 (1984), 155-178.

Moss, Ann. Ovid in Renaissance France: A Survey of the Latin Editions of Ovid and Commentaries Printed in France Before 1600. London, 1982.

Mozley, J.F. John Foxe and his Book. New York, 1940.

Murgatroyd, P. "*Militia Amoris* and the Roman Elegists." Latomus, 34 (1975), 59-69.

Murstein, Bernard I. Love, Sex and Marriage through the Ages. New York, 1973.

Myerowitz-Levine, Molly. "The Women of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*: Nature or Culture." Scripta Classica Israelica, 6 (1981-2), 30-56.

___ Ovid's Games of Love. Detroit, 1985.

Nethercot, Arthur H. Abraham Cowley: The Muse's Hannibal. Oxford, 1931.

Newman, J.K. Augustus and the New Poetry. Brussels, 1967.

___ The Classical Epic Tradition. Madison Wisc., 1986.

Niemeyer, Carl. "New Light on Edward Benlowes." RES, 12 (1936), 31-41.

Oechslin, R.L. Louis of Granada. St Louis, 1962.

Otis, Brooks. Ovid as an Epic Poet. 2nd. edn. Cambridge, 1970.

Parker, D. "The Ovidian Coda." Arion, 8 (1969), 80-97.

Palmer, Anne-Marie. Prudentius on the Martyrs. Oxford, 1989.

Parrish, Paul. Richard Crashaw. Boston, 1980.

___ "The Feminizing of Power: Crashaw's Life and Art." In Summers and Pebworth, Muses Commonweale. pp. 148-162.

___ "'O Sweet Contest': Gender and Value in the Weeper." In Roberts, New Perspectives. pp. 127-140.

Parry, Graham. Seventeenth Century Poetry, the Social Context. London, 1985.

___ "A Troubled Arcadia." In Healy and Sawday, Civil War. pp. 39-55.

Patrides, C. A. ed. The Cambridge Platonists. Cambridge, 1969.

___ The English Poems of George Herbert. London, 1974.

___ "Richard Crashaw: The Merging of Contrarieties." In his Figures in a Renaissance Context. eds. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth. Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1989. pp. 141-60.

Pawson, G.P.H. The Cambridge Platonists and their Place in Religious Thought. London, 1930.

Pearcy, Lee T. The Mediated Muse: English Translations of Ovid 1550-1660. Hamden Mass., 1984.

Pechter, Edward. "The New Historicism and its Discontents: Politicizing Renaissance Drama." PMLA, 102 (1987), 292-304.

Peebles, Bernard M. The Poet Prudentius. New York, 1951.

Peers, E. Allison. Studies of the Spanish Mystics. 2nd. edn. 2 vols. New York, 1952.

Peter, John. "Crashaw and 'The Weeper.'" Scrutiny, 19 (1953), 258-273.

Petersen, Hans. "Livy and Augustus." TAPhA, 92 (1961), 440-52.

Petersson, R.T. Sir Kenelm Digby: the Ornament of England. London, 1956.

Petersson, Robert T. The Art of Ecstacy: Teresa, Bernini and Crashaw. New York, 1974.

Phare, E.E. "The Conversion of Crashaw's Countess of Denbeigh." The Cambridge Review, 54, No. 1322 (1932), 147-9.

Phillips, Charles R. "Love's Companions and Ovid, *Amores* 1,2." In Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History. ed. C. Deroux. Brussels, 1980. pp. 269-77.

Phillips, C.S. Hymnody Past and Present. London and New York, 1937.

Porter, H.C. Reform and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge. Cambridge, 1958.

Potter, Lois. Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641-1668. Cambridge, 1989.

Powell, Anton. ed. Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus. Bristol, 1992.

Powicke, Frederick James. The Cambridge Platonists: A Study. Cambridge, Mass., 1926

Praz, Mario. The Flaming Heart: Essays on Crashaw, Machiavelli and other Studies on the Relationship between Italian and English Literature. New York, 1958.

___ Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery. 2nd, edn. Rome, 1964.

Pritchard, Allan. "Puritan Charges against Crashaw and Beaumont." TLS, (2 July, 1964), p. 578.

Quinn, Kenneth. The Catullan Revolution. Cambridge, 1969.

Quint, David. Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature: Versions of the Source. New Haven and London, 1983.

Raby, F.J.E. A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages. 2nd. edn. Oxford, 1953.

Rand, Edward Kennard. "Prudentius and Christian Humanism." TAPhA, 51 (1920), 71-83.

___ Ovid and his Influence. London, 1926.

Raspa, Antony. "Crashaw and the Jesuit Poetic." University of Toronto Quarterly, 36 (1966), 37-54.

___ The Emotive Image: Jesuit Poetics in the English Renaissance. Fort Worth, Texas, 1983.

Revard, Stella P. "The Seventeenth Century Religious Ode and its Classical Models." in Summers and Pebworth, Bright Shootes. pp. 173-191.

___ "Crashaw and the Diva: The Tradition of the Neo-Latin Hymn to the Goddess." In Roberts, New Perspectives. pp. 80-99.

Roberts, John R. Richard Crashaw: An Annotated bibliography of Criticism. 1632-1980. Columbia, 1985.

___ New Perspectives on the Life and Art of Richard Crashaw. Columbia, 1990.

Roberts, Lorraine M. "Crashaw's Sacred Voice." In Roberts, New Perspectives. pp. 66-79.

Russell, Conrad. The Origins of the English Civil War. London, 1973.

___ Causes of the English Civil War. Oxford, 1990.

Sabine, Maureen. "Crashaw and the Feminine Animus: Patterns of Self-Sacrifice in two of his Devotional Poems." John Donne Journal, 4 (1985), 69-94.

___ Feminine Engendered Faith: John Donne and Richard Crashaw. London, 1992.

Sawday, Jonathan. "'Mysteriously Divided': Civil War, Madness and the Divided Self." in Literature and the English Civil War. eds. Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday. Cambridge, 1990. pp. 127-147.

Schoenfeldt, Michael C. "'That Ancient Heat': Sexuality and Spirituality in *The Temple.*" In Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth century English Poetry. eds. Elizabeth D. Harvey and Katharine Eisamann Maus. Chicago and London, 1990. pp. 273-306.

Schullenberger, William. "The Word of Reform and the Politics of the Eucharist." George Herbert Journal, 13 (1989), 19-36.

Segal, Charles. "Catullan Otiosi: The lover and the Poet." Greece and Rome, NS, 17 (1970), 25-31.

Seznec, Jean. The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythologocal Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art. New York, 1953.

Sharland, E. Cruwys. "Richard Crashaw and Mary Collet." Church Quarterly Review, 73, No. 146 (1912), 358-385.

Sharpe, Kevin. "Archbishop Laud." History Today, 33 (August, 1983), 26-30.

Shuger, Deborah Kuller. Habits of thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics, and the Dominant Culture. Berkeley, California, 1990.

Smith, Macklin. Prudentius' *Psychomachia*: A Reexamination. Princeton, 1976.

Smithson, Bill. "Herbert's Affliction Poems." SEL, 15 (1975), 125-40.

Soden, Geoffrey Ingle. Geoffrey Goodman Bishop of Gloucester. London, 1953.

Solodow, Joseph B. "Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*: The Lover as Cultural Ideal." Wiener Studien, NS, 11 (1977), 106-27.

___ The World of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Chapel Hill, 1988.

Southern, A.C. Elizabethan Recusant Prose. London, 1950

Stella Marie, Sister. "Prudentius and Juvenal." Phoenix, 16 (1962), 41-52.

Stewart, Stanley. The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and the Image in Seventeenth Century Poetry. Madison, Wisc., 1966.

Staley, Vernon. ed. Hierurgia Anglicana: Documents and Extracts Illustrative of the Ceremonial of the Anglican Church. 3 vols. London, 1903.

Stanwood, Paul Grant. "St Teresa and Joseph Beaumont's *Psyche*." Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 62 (1963), 533-550.

___ "Time and Liturgy in Donne, Crashaw and T.S. Eliot." Mosaic, 12, No.2 (1979), 91-105.

Sullivan, J.P. "The Politics of Elegy." Arethusa, 5 (1972), 17-34.

___ Propertius: A Critical Introduction. Cambridge, 1976.

Summers, Claude J. and Pebworth Ted-Larry, eds. Too Rich to Clothe the Sunne: Essays on George Herbert. Pittsburg, 1980.

___ Bright Shootes of Everlastingnesse: The Seventeenth Century Religious Lyric. Columbia, 1987.

___ The Muses Commonweale: Poetry and Politics in the Seventeenth Century. Columbia, 1988.

___ Renaissance Discourses of Desire. Columbia, 1993.

Swanston, Hamish. "The Second Temple." Durham University Journal, 56 (1963), 14-22.

Syme, Ronald. The Roman Revolution. Oxford, 1939.

Thaddeus, Rev. Father. The Franciscans in England 1600-1850. London and Leamington, 1898.

Thomas. E. "Variations on a Military Theme in Ovid's Amores." Greece and Rome, NS, 2 (1974), 151-65.

Thomas, Edward. "The Tenth Muse." In Feminine Influence on the Poets. London and New York, 1910. pp. 228-331.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh. "Laudianism and Political Power." In his Catholics Anglicans and Puritans. London, 1987. pp. 40-120.

Trochu, Francis. St. Francis De Sales. 2 vols. Lyon, 1956.

Twigg, John. The University of Cambridge and the English Revolution, 1625-1688. Cambridge, 1990.

Tyacke, Nicholas. "Puritanism, Arminianism, and the Counter-Revolution." In Russell, Origins. pp. 119-43.

___ The Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c1590-1640. Oxford, 1987.

Veyne, Paul. Roman Erotic Elegy: Love, Poetry and the West. Trans. David Pellauer. Chicago and London, 1988.

Vickers, Nancy J. "This Heraldry in Lucrece's Face." In Susan Rubin Suleiman, The Female Body in Western Culture: Contemporary Perspectives. Cambridge Mass, 1986. pp. 209-222.

Walker, T.A. ed. Memoirs of Joseph Beaumont. Cambridge 1934.

___ A History of Peterhouse. Cambridge, 1935.

Wallerstein, Ruth. Richard Crashaw: A Study in Style and Poetic Development. Madison, Wisc., 1935.

Wardman, Alan. Religion and Statecraft Among the Romans. London, 1982.

Warner, Marina. First of all her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary. London, 1976.

Warren, Austin. "Crashaw and St. Teresa." TLS, (August 25th, 1932), p. 593.

___ "Crashaw's *Epigrammata Sacra*." Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 33 (1934), 233-39.

___ Richard Crashaw: A Study in Baroque Sensibility. Baton Rouge, 1939.

Warwick, Henrietta Holm. A Vergil Concordance. Minneapolis, 1975.

Watkin, Edward I. "William Crashaw's Influence on his Son." The Dublin Review, 223, (1949), 1-25.

White, Hayden. "New Historicism: A Comment." in Veeser, New Historicism. pp. 293-302.

White, Helen C. The Metaphysical Poets. New York, 1956.

___ Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs. Madison, Wisc., 1963.

White, Peter. "The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered." Past and Present, 101 (November, 1983), 34-54.

Wilcox, Helen. "'Heaven's Lidger Here': Herbert's Temple and Seventeenth Century Devotion." In Images of Belief in Literature. ed. David Jasper. London, 1984. pp. 153-168.

___ "Exploring the Language of Devotion in the English Revolution." in Healy and Sawday, pp. 75-90.

Williams, A.M. ed. Conversations at Little Gidding. Cambridge, 1970.

Williams, Anne. "Gracious Accomodations: George Herbert's '28/07/94Love III.'" Modern Philology, 82 (1984), 13-22.

Williams, Gordon. Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry. Oxford, 1968.

Williams, W.W. St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Westminster, Maryland, 1952.

Winters, Yvor. Forms of Discovery: Critical and Historical Essays on the Forms of the Short Poem in English. Chicago, 1967.

Witke, Charles. "Prudentius and the Tradition of Latin Poetry." TAPhA, 99 (1968), 509-525.

___ Numen Litteratum: The Old and the New in Latin Poetry from Constantine to Gregory the Great. Leiden and Cologne, 1971.

Wright, Wendy M. "Francois de Sales: Gentleness and Civility." In The Roots of the Modern Christian Tradition. ed. E. Rozanne Elder. Kalamazoo, Mich., 1984. pp. 124-144.

Wyke, Maria. "Written Women: Propertius' *Scripta Puella*." JRS, 77 (1987), 47-61

___ "Mistress and Metaphor in Augustan Elegy." Helios, 16 (1989), 25-47.

___ "Augustan Cleopatras: Female Power and Poetic Authority." In Powell, pp. 98-140.

Young, R.V. "Jonson, Crashaw, and the Development of the English Epigram." Genre, 12 (1979), 137-152

___ Richard Crashaw and the Spanish Golden Age. New Haven, 1982.

___ "Ineffable Speech, Carmelite Mysticism and Metaphysical Poetry." Communio: International Catholic Review, 17 (1990), 238-60.